CHARLES W. ELIOT

Puritan Liberal

HENRY HALLAM
SAUNDERSON

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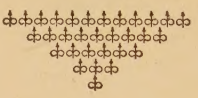

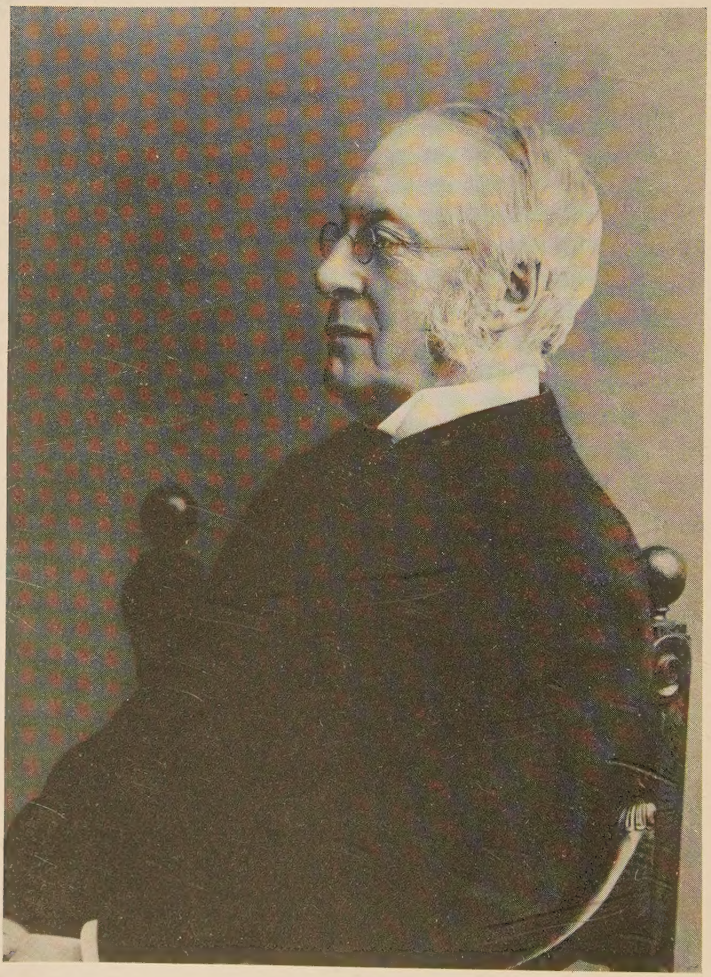

CHARLES W. ELIOT

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PURITAN LIBERAL

BY

HENRY HALLAM SAUNDERSON

AUTHOR OF "THE WAYSIDE PULPIT"

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM ALLEN NEILSON

PRESIDENT OF SMITH COLLEGE

WEST ROXBURY

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A FAITHFUL

FRIEND

THROUGH MANY

YEARS

Introduction

I have been asked to write something on the religious faith of Dr. Charles W. Eliot and will make an attempt to do so, though with some hesitation. In spite of the fact that I lived under his shadow for thirty years, the period of my close association with him was only two. During this time I saw him constantly, but we were engaged in a literary undertaking, and our discussions were directed to practical issues. They ranged, it is true, over a very wide field and gave me an opportunity to learn a good deal about the extent of his knowledge, the variety of his interests, and the nature of his tastes.

Only occasionally did they touch on his more intimate convictions, and what I gathered as to the springs of his inner life was mainly a matter of inference. His temperament and

the nature of his profession alike tended to suppress confidences and revelations; but in the vast circle of his acquaintance there must be many friends whose relations with him in times of stress gave them opportunities for an insight into the basis of his spiritual life.

A difficulty arises from the confusion in the modern mind as to the essential nature of religion. What Dr. Eliot thought about this he has set forth with explicitness in a number of papers. The very considerable traditional element in his beliefs has been placed in its historical setting in this book. What I am inclined to regard as the heart of Dr. Eliot's religion, however, would be considered by many as not religion at all. To some, mysticism is of the essence of religion and the word "mystical" has been applied by Dr. Saunderson to his faith. I do not think Dr. Eliot was a mystic in any of the *stricter* senses of the term. He did not regard himself as belonging to a select group of

initiates, nor, so far as I know, did he lay claim to the *immediate* vision.

He had, first of all, a profound faith in human nature. This was entirely compatible with a frank facing of its weakness and failures. His capacity for indignation and even contempt was often as conspicuous as his enthusiasm. But the fundamental nature of this faith is shown by his conviction that the main agencies for the redemption of human nature are freedom and truth. Show men the truth and set them free to react to it, and mankind will move forward. This seemed to me the maxim underlying his ceaseless efforts for the promotion of public welfare. It was the basis of his educational policies, of his political and social democracy, of his interest in physical, mental, and social hygiene, of his national pride and his international hopes.

The institutions to which he was most attached—the family, the American form of government, the organization of Harvard Uni-

versity—were such as seemed to him to be working examples of liberty and truth. "The durable satisfactions of life," to use one of his most characteristic phrases, were all based on the same principles.

His faith in progress implied for him that these ideas had a universal validity, were inherent in the universe. The conception of God which was part of his inheritance was enriched by his living faith in the power and utter wholesomeness of truth. It is perhaps unimportant whether he believed in truth because he believed in God, or believed in God because he believed in truth. What is important is that by the identification of God and truth, and his faith that truth will prevail, he unified his world for both thought and action.

It must not be supposed that this conviction was merely an intellectual conclusion. It glowed with fervent heat. None of the popular misconceptions about Dr. Eliot is farther astray than the idea that he was cold. His manner,

indeed, was austere, and he had no little raptures over the trivial. But underneath there was a fierce intensity, an intensity of faith that never wavered, an intensity of purpose that directed to one great end his manifold activities, an intensity of reverence before the law and order of the universe. In this unity and intensity consisted his religion.

W. A. Neilson.

Contents

	Preface	xv
I.	*A Succession of Prophets*	1
II.	*A Priceless Inheritance*	33
III.	*A Spiritual Magna Charta*	73
IV.	*The Greatest of the Puritans*	86
V.	*Faith and Freedom*	103
VI.	*Kindred Minds*	126
VII.	*Springs of Action*	151
VIII.	*Looking into the Future*	186
IX.	*The Great Transition*	220

Preface

Out of the shadows of misunderstanding the New England Puritan is emerging into a clearer light of appreciation. This is because of a fuller knowledge of the conditions of life in England and New England, as well as in other lands, three centuries ago. From 1630 to 1640 took place that unique migration which brought more than twenty thousand Puritans from England to the new colony of Massachusetts Bay. The life of these people, during the next half-century, is sometimes painted in dark colors with deep shadows; and the word puritanism has come to be synonymous with gloom, bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and conservatism.

Yet the Puritans of England three centuries ago were the progressive party in English politics and the liberal party in the established Church of England. If we look at the Puritan

against the somber background of those times, he looks more like a messenger of light than a personification of darkness. The Puritans who came to New England in the great migration were the more progressive and adventurous element of this liberal party. They came not with the negative attitude of fugitives from oppression, but with the affirmative attitude of the creators of a new era. Their coming was not a gesture of despair, but an expression of hope.

If, from the viewpoint of today, their life seems gloomy and their laws seem restrictive, we have but to look at the life from which they emerged and the laws which they left behind, to see that they began to build their civilization anew with a more humane spirit and a greater emphasis on the worth of life. Their moral fiber was, indeed, toughened by their contest with the wilderness. They had a sternness which was necessarily coupled with their courage. Their methods of life were serious, for they were very much in earnest about their

ideals. Yet they had a glowing idealism, a spiritual ardor, and a stern joy which transformed their life and made it creative of the beauty and grace which came with the happier years that followed.

It is commonly said that the Puritan plan of government and life proved itself a failure within a half-century of the founding of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The letter of their law did change, but the creative spirit continued its work. The shell was shattered after it had been brooded upon, but a growing life emerged. The experiment made in the first half-century was repeated on a vaster scale and under new conditions. Those who look only at the outward appearance see the shattered patterns; but those who look at the inner spirit see a growing life.

One of the most significant facts about the Puritan life in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay was its emphasis on education. The whole structure of life rested on the foundation of a book.

That book was the Bible, but in it the Puritans found civil laws, spiritual instruction, religious inspiration, the plan of their Church, the problems for tireless discussion in public and the material for meditation in private. They were making an experiment, the outcome of which no man could predict with certainty; but they were committed irrevocably to a principle which dominated all their thought and action.

That principle was to develop an enlightened people, under the leadership of an educated ministry, and governed by godly men. That is why in their first years they made great sacrifices to establish Harvard College and to create a public school system and to provide books for every home. It was a new thing, in the story of the human race, to establish a government which held, as its highest aim, the ideal of promoting the welfare of the whole population; and to seek that welfare through general education and enlightenment.

The purpose of this present volume is to in-

terpret the greatest educator which New England puritanism has produced; and to reveal the significance of his work in Harvard, an institution central in the Puritan life from its first decade. Not only did the blood of Puritan ancestors flow in the veins of Charles W. Eliot, but the creative spirit of puritanism is more perfectly exemplified in him than in the personality of any other man. Life gave him his great opportunity by placing him at the head of the oldest of the Puritan colleges. It made his work timely by making it span the period when modern exact science came into existence and revolutionized the thinking of enlightened people. It gave him many years in which to round out the pattern of his work. It enriched him with rewards and crowned him with honors.

The personality of Charles W. Eliot does indeed stand in need of interpretation. It would be difficult to find another man known by so many, and understood by so few; doing his life work in a place so prominent and living his

personal life in such privacy; making known his opinions on many topics so widely, but cherishing convictions which he felt were too sacred for common utterance. The visible results of his life are obvious and people point with amazement to great buildings erected and vast endowments accumulated because of his will and his work. But few are the people who ever penetrated to the secret sources of his power or guessed from what springs of inspiration such results flowed. Most men who watched him supposed that he drew his incentives from the satisfactions of visible results; and few saw the hidden glow of his ideals or felt their driving force. He seemed like a rationalist, pursuing his objects with sharp, clear calculation; but in reality he was a man of powerful emotions and was dominated by lofty affections.

There were times in his administrative work when cases of discipline were brought to his attention and he seemed severe in upholding

necessary regulations; but sometimes a young man would be dumb with amazement to find that he could be as tender with a delinquent as Abraham Lincoln with a young soldier who had broken an army regulation. He could master his own feelings of joy or sympathy or grief so completely that he seemed utterly indifferent to these experiences. But the love of beauty, the affection for his family, the pleasures of friendship, and the griefs that came into his personal experience were poignant. These emotions were dynamic in his inner and secret life.

It is natural to ask why there was so great a contrast between the man whom others thought they knew in public, and the real man hidden within the veil of privacy. Is it any wonder that many people do not understand the genius of puritanism when they did not understand this personality in our modern life? He had the greatest of the qualities of the Puritan and possessed them in the highest degree.

From early life he developed the capacity

for independence of thought. He could adhere to a chosen purpose even if others were set in strong opposition. He could think a problem through to a conclusion and then hold that conclusion as a finality. He could choose a very unpopular course and adhere to it as completely as if all the influences were favorable. Against the winds of changing public opinion or the tides of tendencies in public life, he could contend for a conviction without flinching.

Then, too, like the very genius of puritanism, he could turn difficulty to opportunity, and obstacles into the means of advancement. He never chose the easier course for the sake of avoiding hardship; and consequently no course, however difficult, seemed impossible if he believed duty called him to go that way. An indomitable will and an inflexible purpose were the consequences of a life of the most rugged austerity.

If he often lacked the coöperation of those whose help he could properly claim, if he was

often lonely from the lack of understanding friends, if difficulties that seemed insurmountable were found in his chosen course, if he gave himself to the life of a scholar and educator, turning from the larger rewards offered by commercial life, what were his incentives? Many people have looked at him in wonder, and found him an enigma. The central secret of his life was an ardent spiritual faith, a glowing religious experience. He lived a life of conscious fellowship with the Eternal. He feared God so greatly that he feared men not at all. He was so loyal to the will of God that he could disregard the opposition of men. His love of the beauties of nature was kindled by a love of God as his divine Father. His religious faith was above rationalism and his convictions transcended the fixed lines of logic. This secret glory of his own inner life he seldom revealed; but, like the knight who has kept his vigil-at-arms, he had an exalted chivalry and an unswerving loyalty to his spiritual faith.

HENRY HALLAM SAUNDERSON

CHARLES W. ELIOT

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Chapter One

A SUCCESSION OF PROPHETS

IMAGINE a great highway bridge, supported by four massive piers; these piers tied together structurally by strong girders which bear the weight of the paved surface. Over this bridge much traffic flows. Using this simile of the bridge, consider the intellectual structure of the past century of liberal religion in New England. Four great personalities stand like massive piers, giving it altitude and dignity. They are William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker and Charles W. Eliot. Careful study of this century of thought will reveal close relationships among these four men, and a continuous line of progress.

The first three are recognized, indeed, as

men of intense religious convictions while the last is known as a great educator. The truth which needs now to be recognized is that the life and work of Charles W. Eliot are to be interpreted as expressions of an intense religious conviction. The key to the meaning of his achievements is found in his spiritual faith. His outer and visible life flowed from the inner and invisible spirit. Much of his achievement may be summed up in the single sentence, "He revolutionized American education." To understand the full meaning of this statement we need not merely the details of his educational methods but the faith from which his ideas were derived. To understand his work for education we must know something of his religious faith; and to understand his religious faith, we must see the spirit of his work for education.

He had a profound confidence in human nature and its divine meanings. His educational work and his religious life were two expres-

sions of one essential spirit. His emphasis on the elective system in education has been discussed at length from the points of view of methods in schools and of results in worldly success. But with him the elective system was a form of emancipation of the human spirit. The elective system was not merely an educational device but an expression of a spiritual principle. He derived it not from experiments in the class-room but from worship in a church. It was not a pedagogic invention but a spiritual conviction.

He believed in encouraging the variety of the powers of youth, and that those powers could be developed best when a man's free choice was exercised. This faith in the precious powers of the inner life came from spiritual insight. When we trace his educational methods to their source we find them derived from a majestic faith in God and a noble confidence in man as the child of God. His religious faith, which was the source of his confidence in the

powers of human personality, was a faith in the direct personal relationship of God and man. This gave rise to a faith in the capacity of men for spiritual initiative, for religious originality, for a first-hand experience of the presence of the living God.

Many people who observed the work of the great educator saw only the outer things and failed to perceive the inner spirit. They saw the teacher, and not the devout man of faith. They heard a voice which spoke with rare lucidity and logic, and did not see the emotion hidden within the judicial utterance. They saw a man who, facing opposition, could hold to his chosen course until the opposition was overcome; but they did not realize that it was profoundly true of him that "he endured as seeing Him who is invisible." The steadfastness of his life, in his educational work, came of the loyalty of his spiritual faith and his strong hold on the Eternal.

He belongs in the true succession of the

prophets of the liberal faith. His life cannot be fully understood without tracing his direct personal relationships with Channing, Emerson and Parker. They were successive influences in his earlier life, helping to shape that faith which was to have so great an influence in supplying the dynamic of his work for human good. Especially in his later years, Charles W. Eliot gave great expression to his religious convictions.

Each of these four men influenced human thinking by the spoken word, by public addresses. Each of them also enlarged that influence by writing. Each of them made an address on religion that was to have an immeasurable influence, continuing through many years. Channing's "Baltimore Sermon," Emerson's "Divinity School Address." Parker's "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity" and Eliot's "The Religion of the Future" are the four religious utterances, each a public address, each published as a pamphlet, gaining

an enormous circulation, and each attacked and praised but continuing its influence through many years. Each promises to continue that influence.

These are not simply coincidences, for one central theme is found in these four prophetic utterances: that the living God still speaks his word of truth to the hearts of living men. The four addresses were made within a century and that century was one of the most significant in human history. Modern scientific thinking took shape during that century. Not only did the theory of evolution create a great upheaval, but the major principles of modern exact science were enunciated. "The indestructibility of matter," "The conservation of energy" and "The reign of law" were conceptions which gave to human thought a new kind of universe. These three with "The evolution of life" were revolutionary.

Looking across that century it is as if an earthquake had opened a wide chasm in what

had seemed like solid ground. To bridge that chasm intellectually and spiritually was an undertaking of the first order of importance. Charles W. Eliot began his educational work before that chasm opened, and continued it into comparatively recent years. And the serene faith of his youth became even more steadfast in his later years. After all, the outer world which science endeavors to describe is not the thing of primary human significance, but the inner world where God and man meet in vital relationships. To assert first the material world and then interpret personality by it, is to dwarf the meaning of life; but to see the significance of the inner life of personality and project a light which illuminates the outer world is to discover life's central truth.

Among the men whose work brought them into close contact with Charles W. Eliot were many who failed to feel the warmth that was concealed within his austerity, or to see the loyalty to glowing ideals which led him to a

great persistence in carrying his plans to fulfillment. Yet there were at least a few men who did perceive the spiritual quality of the great educator. At the end of the first twenty-five years of Dr. Eliot's presidency the following exchange of letters took place between him and Dr. George H. Palmer, letters which are highly significant.

11 Quincy St., May 19, 1894.

Dear Mr. Eliot,

I cannot let this memorial day go by without expressing to you my gladness for the twenty-five years that are gone. Twenty-four of them I have spent with you, and every one has made me more deeply your debtor. Without you I should not have known myself; I might have missed my work; and should certainly have conceived of it in different terms. No living man has had a larger share than you in shaping my ideals and powers.

At the first I saw how significant you were

to be for me and—though disliking—I set myself to study you. My comprehension was slow, and resisted. Few members of the faculty have voted against you more times than I, but sympathy was growing through the years when our radical difference of temper was becoming plain. Smoothly and with no violent change I passed through distrust, tolerance, respect, admiration, liking, into the hearty friendship—I might say the love—which makes it a delight to work with you now, whether in opposition or alliance. Probably we shall always approach subjects from opposite sides. You began in chemistry, I in theology; but nothing can touch my deep affection for you or my gratitude to the man who, more than any other, shows me perpetually how to rely on the Eternal for personal strength.

Do not answer this note. Other people will need your attention, who thank you for what you have done for the university. I have wished

to thank you for what you are and for what you have given me.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. PALMER.

Dear Mr. Palmer,

Your note of today tells me much which is contenting and new to me; but there are two points in it which give me special satisfaction. The first is your statement that you like "to work with me whether in opposition or alliance." That seems to me a rewarding outcome of a long association. The other is your remark about my relying "on the Eternal for personal strength." I belong to the barest of the religious communions, and I am by nature reserved except with intimates, and even with some of them. I feel glad that what has been, I believe, a fact in my inner life these thirty years past has been visible to a close observer of my official career.

I should not like to have it said by the next

generation, as has often been said by my contemporaries, that I was a man without ideals and without piety. That would not be good for Harvard. Your sympathetic discernment is therefore a solace and support. It has been hard to have people suppose—even some of my friends—that my interest in the religious policy of the university was a matter of expediency and not of conviction. I am glad that you have inferred from my habitual conduct an underlying conviction.

With hearty thanks for your inspiring letter and pleasant anticipation of mutual helpfulness in time to come, I am,

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES W. ELIOT.

Such self-revelation on the part of Dr. Eliot was very rare; and few were the friends or associates who penetrated beyond his reserve. His ninetieth birthday was celebrated with a great gathering of educators and other leaders of

public life. Three years later, March twentieth, nineteen hundred twenty-seven, a memorial service was held for him in Appleton Chapel at Harvard. Important aspects of his personality were set in contrast by his successor, President A. Lawrence Lowell, and Dr. Charles F. Thwing (Harvard '76), President-emeritus of Western Reserve University, who spoke at the memorial service.

President Lowell, in tracing the great changes which Dr. Eliot had wrought and the educational principles upon which he had acted, said: "On these four principles he acted with an energy that seemed to some of his contemporaries ruthless, for his aims were clear, his faith in them unbounded, and in spite of obstacles he pursued them with marvelous rapidity. . . . Almost all of these changes provoked vigorous opposition. Many of them were widely unpopular at the time, often among the very groups whose opinion seemed most important. The criticism of the elective

system came in the main from cultivated people; in the Medical School the opponents were among the older and more distinguished members of the Faculty; the legal profession and the other law schools had no confidence in the case method introduced here.

"Neither opposition and criticism nor the loss of students made him shrink from his purpose or flinch from carrying it to its conclusion. To attacks he seemed indifferent because he disregarded them, but no doubt he felt them more keenly than the public supposed, for he did not wear his heart on his sleeve. At the celebration of his ninetieth birthday I spoke of his great courage, and from something that he said I gathered that he did not think this attribute particularly marked in his case. It often happens that men are not highly conscious of their personal virtues, or for that matter of their personal defects. Where a quality has been cultivated by a strong and persistent effort they are apt to be keenly aware of it, while if it comes to

them naturally, without exertion, they take it as common to all men, and ascribe to themselves no peculiar excellence therein. This was, I think, true of Mr. Eliot's courage. It was inherent in his character. Yet it came not from combativeness, for while he never shunned a contest, he had no love for it. He was too large for that. His courage came from the determination to make his faith effectual; and few men have had more constant need of it than he did during the first twenty-five years of his presidency. Thereafter a change came, and he reaped in full measure the harvest of his persistence.

"Determined as he was, and eager to carry out his views, he was patient of opposition in the Faculty, willing to listen to objections, and above all just to opponents. In the vital matter of promotions in the instructing staff he considered only academic fitness, taking no account of disagreement with his cherished plans. Perhaps this was due to his belief that his ideas

were right and must in the end prevail; perhaps still more to a lofty temper that could stand aloof from personal irritation, and look only at larger things."

This quotation from President Lowell suggests the reasons why Dr. Eliot "acted with an energy that seemed to some of his contemporaries ruthless." There were contemporaries who, looking at his outward appearance, regarded him as being as cold as a glacier, and as heartless in his deliberate, relentless, forward movements. Few there were who saw that he was more like a volcano, self-suppressed, hiding within an adamantine exterior a fire of emotion, of idealism, of spiritual faith, and of personal consecration to God.

At that same celebration of the ninety-third anniversary of Dr. Eliot's birth, which was a memorial service for him, Dr. Charles F. Thwing clarified this mystical element in the personality of the great educator, and showed the source of his sublime courage, indomitable

will, and unswerving devotion to duty. It was to be found in his intense personal religion. Dr. Thwing said: "An optimist, he was also a prophet; for he looked forward and not backward. But chief, chiefest among all these elements and forces of the man was religion. Central, comprehensive, formative, commanding, in his life and character, was religion. Religion was an element or application of the passion for truth. This element was fundamental. It seems to me to be the comprehensive philosophic principle of the man. In this principle he may be called a Christian theist. He would affirm the first article of the creed, 'I believe in God.' Being was more essential than creating. His God was a God both immanent and transcendent. He was also a God loving and beneficent.

'The secret flame, the unimagined breath,
That lives in all things beautiful and pure,
Invincibly secure.'

"To this Being he bore a personal relationship. This God was to be loved. His commandments were to be obeyed. The two commandments of the New Testament embraced the ten of the old Testament, and both flowered forth in the beatitudes of Christ. Obedience to the second of these two great commandments represents the great secular movements of modern society—democracy, individualism, and social idealism, the zeal for education, the spirit of research, the modern tendency to welcome the new, the fresh powers of preventive medicine, and the recent advances in business and industrial ethics—but also in essential agreement with the direct personal teachings of Jesus as they are reported in the Gospels. The revelation He gave to mankind thus becomes more powerful than ever.

"Prayerfulness, too, was the mood of his character. The act of prayer he held, with Emerson, to be the highest achievement of the human reason. He belonged to what he called

the barest of religious communions, and, perhaps for this very reason, he relied the more on the Eternal for personal strength. He embodied Schleiermacher's doctrine of dependence. The common belief of devout souls, in worship, was his belief. The teaching of Greek philosophy, in the divine essence behind phenomena, was his belief, a belief which has a unique emergence in the intimations of modern science. His worship recognized God as a spirit, and he reverenced Christ's admonition that those who 'worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.' The center of the circle of his belief was found in the principle of supreme love to the One, Supreme; and its circumference was as wide as humanity. The church as an expression and an agency of religion, he accepted, and at its altar he was a communicant.

"His was a religion broadly natural; for it embraced the supernatural as its interpretation and application. His was a religion seeking af-

ter truth, and, in the seeking and the discovery, finding freedom. His was a faith for life, and it was a faith for what is after life. It quickened joy; it inspired confidence in the nature of things; it breathed consolation in sorrows,—and from sorrows his life was not free; it gave beauty and strength in youth, in maturity, and in age; universal love, benevolence, beneficence, defense in temptation, steadiness, fulfillments, and imperishable hopefulness."

In the course of his address, Dr. Thwing uttered sentences that gave glints of light like sparks from an anvil. They illuminated the inner life of Dr. Eliot, making it more visible to those who heard this tribute. Dr. Thwing said: "His emotions, though restrained, were at times of winged swiftness. . . . Magnanimous to all, especially to opponents, he could be angry without sin,—and his indignation has been called 'appalling.' . . . A college president, he was yet more than academic. Called by some a Cæsar, he was most open to

counsel and to intimation to all. His heart was on the future, but that future he transmuted into a living present. He lived in the present but he thought of the future."

Dr. Eliot had an intense fervor for humanity and a great faith in the powers of human personality. While he believed that God was transcendent and also immanent in Nature he believed ardently in "The indwelling God," in the discovery of God in the inner life of man. This faith in the indwelling God implies an essential likeness of God and man: that God, in His sympathies, comes sufficiently close to man to dwell within him; and that man, in the full development of his spirit, becomes sufficiently divine to be the dwelling-place for the Eternal.

Dr. Thwing showed the outcome of the personal faith of Charles W. Eliot, and said: "I make bold to say that the fundamental element in the results of Eliot's life and service lies, comprehensively, in his being an emancipator;

he gave freedom; he was a liberator. At least three names spring to the lip as one pronounces the word, Liberator, Emancipator. The first, of course, is Lincoln, who emancipated men's bodies. The second is Emerson, who emancipated men's thoughts and imagination. The third is Eliot, who emancipated the higher education. . . . To Eliot, emancipation was vitally associated with the search for truth. Truth, the knowledge of truth, resulted in giving freedom to the human spirit, and freedom in man resulted in the enlargement and enrichment of the field of truth. Freedom and truth: each was cause and each was result. . . . Life manifest in civil government, in the church, and in the family, has vivified and intensified emancipation. To us today this movement toward freedom, manifest in so many forms and through so many powers, owes its chief origin, appreciation and application in education, to the vision, forcefulness, and patience of Charles William Eliot."

This ringing declaration of the religious convictions of Dr. Eliot is highly significant. The coming of the modern scientific view of the world, with its doctrine of exact unvarying physical law, has led many men to abandon religion. To be thoroughly familiar with the teachings of modern science, and sympathetic toward those teachings, and, at the same time, to be, in the highest sense of the phrase, "spiritually minded," means that a man has won a distinct achievement.

There are many religious people today whose religion is not a personal achievement but an inheritance, or a thing derived from their environment. Their religion is not greatly influenced by modern science because their minds are not touched by science. They take the world just as it appears. Stars and planets are all near, and the universe is neighborly. The sun rises and sets, just as it seems to the unreflective observer. Their horizons are narrow, and also their interests. Traditional religion

seems to them sufficient for their commonplace world. Why should they look beyond the things of ordinary daily experience and observation?

The educated person, who adjusts his thinking to the truths taught by modern science, has to undertake a very difficult thing: he has to create, for himself, another world, the world of his reflective life. He cannot make the world of his *observation* identical with the world of his *understanding*. No matter how highly trained he is as an observer, the sun still appears to rise and set over a flat disk of a world. He has to build, as a purely intellectual concept, a spherical world, whirling on its axis; and to understand that this whirling motion gives the alternations of day and night, the appearance of sunrise and sunset.

In a multitude of ways, he has to keep and use his direct observations, and, at the same time, know that his observations are only things-as-they-seem and not things-as-they-are.

By a difficult feat of the imagination he must place the sun, moon, planets and fixed stars in space and get his picture of the universe in its true arrangement. His world, as a reflective man, is built up slowly and laboriously and must be allowed to rest on his world of common observation.

Traditional religion is adjusted very largely to the world of ordinary observation. The world which we begin to observe in childhood fits the religion which we begin to learn in childhood. There are many people who never change their view of the world, never come to the reflective stage of thinking seriously about its reality or its meaning; and who, also, never change their traditional form of faith.

There is, however, among the people of America, a widespread knowledge of the outline of the discoveries of modern science. An increasing number of people are becoming familiar with the theory of evolution, the measurements of the universe by the astron-

omers, the story of life as told by biologists, and the doctrine of the universal reign of law. They are building for themselves an intellectual world, a product of the reflective mind. They see the contrast between the religion of their childhood and the world of their maturity.

Among these people there are men who are in frantic revolt against science, and desire sincerely to keep their traditional faith. They fear modern enlightenment lest it destroy religion. Many other people choose what seems to them the other alternative: they accept the teachings of science, and abandon religion, being quite as convinced as these neighbors that religion and modern science are contradictory. It is an achievement to rise above this ground of conflict and find the higher levels of harmony between scientific enlightenment and spiritual illumination. Thus the point of contact between religion and modern science is the point of departure for sharply divergent paths. One party, large in numbers, has contended sin-

cerely for traditional faith, regarding it as more precious than new truth. Another party has been willing to lose many important religious values, and accept the results of new scientific discoveries. A third party has done, and is still doing, an important creative work, a ministry of reconciliation. Those who belong to this party keep the spirit of religion above the letter; and they are more eager to welcome a new spiritual interpretation of the world than to receive mere material facts, though newly discovered.

The *facts* of modern science are not to be identified with the *interpretation* of the world we live in. A modern educated man, who has learned to be reflective, but who is truly religious, that is "spiritually minded," is one who has gone beyond the building of the intellectual picture of the universe, as described by science. He has turned to life's deeper meanings and the world's profounder significance. If he does this for himself he may build a stal-

wart religious faith; and if he does it also for others he shares in a constructive work for humanity, in this age of enlightenment.

Such a man, indeed, was Dr. Eliot. The modern scientific view of the world came during his active educational work. He was in the midst of his professional career when the scientific world accepted heartily the idea of the universal reign of law. When, as a young man, he began to teach chemistry, it was before this epoch-making change in human thinking. But the major part of his educational work was in this world of modern science.

From his youth he was deeply religious; and it is not enough to say of him that he kept his faith to the end of his life. Not only did the religion of his youth survive into his maturer years, but it grew strong and buoyant as the years moved on. He kept youth's ardor and gained the strength and wisdom of age. From the modern enlightened view of the world his religion gained new breadth and depth. His

religion was nourished by the discoveries of modern science. To his deep convictions he gave virile expression.

He could not follow his educational work as the highway of his life, and turn at times to his religion as a by-path through pleasant meadows; for his work demanded that he face with the utmost directness the problem of the place of religion in the world of modern educated men. As a matter of personal conviction, religion was his major interest. His own religion he held with the ardor of a crusader; and from it he derived his strength for his educational work. He did not try to keep his scientific work and his religious thinking in separate compartments. As the fire under the boiler supplies power to the steam engine, his religious convictions were the great dynamic of his life work.

In recent years the mechanistic theory of the world has offered a picture of man's environment which seems to take away his highest

spiritual values. It asserts that the universe in which we live is a vaſt machine without intelligence, or a sense of a goal, or a supreme conscious purpose. It leaves man with no freedom of the will, and no moral significance. It denies that man can find, anywhere in the universe, any principle of fatherly care for humanity. It makes absurd the impulse of prayer, the sense of value of spiritual ideals, the confidence in the existence of God, and the hope of immortality for human souls.

Againſt such a view of the world, Dr. Eliot contended valiantly. He had developed, in his youth, the courageous mood to contend for human freedom and the valiant spirit of the crusader to wage battle againſt tyranny. In those far-off years the tyrant was the Calviniſtic view of God and the world, which denied the freedom of man's will and assessed, at a low value, man's native aspirations. In the Calviniſtic theory there was a simple line of logic which can be ſtated in a few clear propositions,

as follows: God knows all things, including the future; if He knows the future He knows all that any man will do; and if man's deeds are known beforehand, he is not free to choose what he will do; therefore man's will is not free.

It is essentially dramatic that the Calvinistic view of arbitrary laws, imposed by the will of an Almighty Sovereign, should have given place to the mechanistic theory of the universe, according to which man is equally as helpless in the presence of universal law. Although there is a great contrast between laws imposed by a conscious universal Will and laws inherent in matter, in either situation man is the helpless victim of laws outside of himself. If the mechanistic theory of the world were true, a century of scientific progress would leave man with a change of tyrants, and no gain in freedom. To have his life predestined by a divine sovereign Will or to have his life predetermined by immutable natural Law seems to

leave him in about the same position. It is surprising that so great a change in our conception of the world as that made by exact science should leave the human individual in so similar a relationship to his environment.

If an observer could choose, as his position for observation, an outside point in space, from which to look at this world, and could see it as a world ruled everywhere by exact law, how could he discover any room for human choice or initiative? Just as the Calvinistic theory, in explaining the world, said that we must begin with the absolute and infinite attributes of Deity, so the mechanistic theory says that we must begin with the absolute reign of material law.

If, however, we begin, not at the far end of the problem, but at the near end, we get a different point of view. The revolt against Calvinism, which influenced profoundly the religion of Charles W. Eliot in his youth, asserted human values and from these proceeded to inter-

pret God and the world. A great fervor for humanity characterized the leaders of that revolt. And Dr. Eliot, in combating in recent years, the mechanistic theory of the universe, asserted human values and declared that human life is ever surrounded by mysteries. Very significant is the reassertion, in the modern scientific world, of this point of view which he acquired in his youth, a point of view that had inspired tremendous developments in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Before giving further consideration to the interpretation of Charles W. Eliot, however, it will be helpful to trace the religio-political background of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The conflict of puritanism in New England against outside authority, both religious and political, during that period, gave birth to him who is the genius of puritanism. To understand him thoroughly we must understand that conflict.

Chapter Two

A PRICELESS INHERITANCE

IF a circle be drawn, having the Massachusetts State House in Boston as its center, and having a radius of about twenty-five miles, it will inclose the scenes of many of the events which made the first part of the nineteenth century a golden age in the life of New England. Within that circle lived many of the poets, prophets, statesmen and other leaders of that life. Harvard College is near its center, in influence as well as geographically. The beginnings of the Revolutionary War were within that circle. The churches which had most to do with the political and religious upheaval were there.

To a remarkable degree the life and personality of Charles W. Eliot are connected with

those influences and those scenes. He was born in the very heart of that territory. His birthplace and early home was on Beacon Street, on land now included in the State House grounds. He worshipped at King's Chapel, which was but a short distance away, a church which has a unique place in the struggle for religious liberty in New England. His natural affiliations were with the liberal party in the controversy which rent New England Congregationalism in twain, a controversy which was exceedingly vigorous in his early years. He grew up under the influence of, or in association with, many of the men who contributed so much toward making the first part of the nineteenth century a time of great distinction in the life of New England.

Within that circle was the converging of influences coming from afar; and within those years came the climax of all the earlier years of New England life. From that center were to radiate lines of influence which have done a

formative work in American life down to the present time and are to continue into the distant future. Through his work for education, his transformation of Harvard College, his creation of a great university, his influence upon all the higher institutions of education in America, Charles W. Eliot not only had an enormous personal influence, but he transmitted influences from the sturdy pioneer life of New England. He has been called "the last and the greatest of the Puritans." In his last years he was designated as "the foremost citizen of the American Republic." Through his work, then, the influences which brought New England life to a climax continued their work throughout the nation.

The story of the development of New England life is necessarily a story of progress in religious ideas. The first two centuries of New England life were of themselves essentially a religious drama. Men of conflicting religious ideas came to New England from old lands to

make experiments in living and to test spiritual ideas. The political contests of the first two centuries of New England life were only secondarily political, and were primarily religious. The Revolutionary War was brought on more by religious than governmental ideals. The beginnings of the processes which made it inevitable were not methods of taxation or political ferment, but religious development and spiritual upheaval. These truths can be revealed by a survey of New England life, going back to those events which impelled men to make here their great experiment in ways of living. Only by such a review can we understand the influences which gave to Charles W. Eliot his unique place in American life and his continuing influence therein.

One of the most significant of these religious ideas that permeated New England was the Calvinistic doctrine. It is difficult for people of the present day to realize the hold which, for centuries, Calvinism had on the minds of the

Protestant world. The Reformation asserted the right of private judgment, but that emancipating doctrine was soon blurred. In the revolt against Catholicism there was a great awakening of conscience, a clear assertion of the presence of the living God in the minds and souls of men, a declaration of the capacity of men for first-hand experience of God's presence. With the Reformation came a widespread revival of religion.

With the beginnings of the Reformation also came a particular emphasis on the Bible and its translation into the languages of the common people of many countries. The newly-invented printing-press made it easy for the people to possess the Book. Tyndale was one of the pioneers in translating and printing the Bible and the first products of his press, parts of his new English translation of the Bible, reached England in 1526. Ten years later, his work incomplete, Tyndale was strangled and burned because of his work in giving the Bible to the

English-speaking people. But other men carried his work to completion.

With the spread of the Bible went Calvin's interpretation of it. Born in 1509, adhering to the party of the Reformation at the age of nineteen, he published his *Institutes* in the same year that Tyndale died. He caused Servetus to be burned in 1553. He applied rigid logic and extreme literalism to Biblical interpretation and his theological system. Thus it came to pass that hundreds of thousands of people received, at the same time, the Bible and Calvin's interpretation of it. The two seemed synonymous to many minds; and the harsh conclusions of Calvin's logic seemed inescapable. The term "Calvinism" has come to stand not merely for what Calvin himself taught, but for a system of Biblical interpretation and theology developed in the same spirit.

If the authority of the Bible is made a rigid and external thing and is substituted for the authority of the Roman Church; if every part

of the Bible is to be believed with extreme literalness; if interpretation proceeds on the principle that God has put a complete theology into it, scattering that theology in fragments all through the Book—then the task of Biblical interpretation requires the searching out and piecing together of that theology until a complete system is formed. Thus interpreted, what logical escape can there be from the conviction that Calvinism is the essential truth of the Bible? How can any man refuse to believe Calvinism without being in revolt against the Word of God? The minds of hundreds of thousands of people were caught in this net.

Thus the doctrine of the right of private judgment, that morning light of the Reformation, was dimmed by the thick cloud of Calvin's authoritative system. The deep shadow of that cloud is not yet entirely passed away; not yet has that morning light come to full day.

Whatever might be the cold and rigid logic of the matter, there were nevertheless, from

the beginnings of the spread of Calvinism, many men who turned to a more spiritual and more humane view. When Calvinists confronted John Wesley with the Biblical texts which seem to prove predestination, he is said to have replied: "Let it mean what it will, it cannot mean that the Judge of all the world is unjust. No scripture can mean that God is not love, or that His mercy is not over all His works; that is, whatever it prove beside, no Scripture can prove predestination."

From the catastrophes of life, from sickness, accidents, fires, floods, storms and the like, many men have believed that the God of the world is jealous, vindictive, and cruel; that he is determined to manifest his arbitrary power and the sovereignty of his will and bring man into meek, unquestioning obedience. Other men, in the presence of this problem of evil, have maintained their faith in God's love, and attributed many calamities to an evil spirit. In this connection it is interesting to note that

when George Whitefield was becoming more rigidly Calvinistic, he argued with John Wesley regarding the nature of God as proved by these calamities. Admitting the full reality of human suffering, Wesley said to Whitefield: "The difference between us is that your God is my devil."

In New England theology, Calvinism has had an influence which, like the tides of the sea, has flowed and ebbed. The people in the *Mayflower* brought their Bibles with them, less than a century after Tyndale's work of translation and printing. They brought a knowledge of Calvin's system of Biblical interpretation; but they brought also John Robinson's immortal utterance: "The Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word." Moreover, in New England, the widespread custom of organizing churches on a spiritual covenant instead of a theological creed and also the custom of allowing each church to frame its own statement of faith,

whatever it might be, allowed much latitude. Men might be Calvinistic in their logical moods and yet permit themselves the luxury of being illogical in kindlier moods.

Thus New England's earlier religious groups, the Puritans and the Pilgrims, had sharp differences, yet made their contributions to a common life. John Endicott came to America in 1628 and became governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony. In spite of keen rivalry with the Plymouth colony, Governor Endicott appealed to the Plymouth colony for the services of a physician in time of serious illness in his own colony. As a result of this humane association he wrote: "God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and sealed with one and the same seal, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same Spirit of Truth."

In the origins of their religious ideas the Pilgrims and the Puritans were far apart; in the practical consequences of those ideas they were

near together. These parties, in England, felt that the Protestant Reformation was incomplete. Their churches were the same churches that had been Catholic, and much of their worship was unchanged. The Pilgrim despaired of completing the Reformation by remaining within the Church of England; and he put great emphasis on the Scriptural text which says: "Come ye out from among them and be ye separate." They were Separatists.

The Puritan believed in reforming the church from within. He disapproved of the Separatists. Yet under Charles I of England the Puritans had so much to endure that many of them began to believe that a special hand of Providence was providing an asylum in the new settlements in New England. Between the years 1630 and 1640, twenty thousand Englishmen crossed the Atlantic; in a single year three thousand came. During these years two hundred emigrant ships brought these adven-

turers. It was one of the greatest migrations in the whole story of the human race!

Theoretically the Puritan was a devout and loyal son of the Church of England. It would be natural to expect him to bring his Book of Common Prayer with him, and to establish, in his church in New England, the familiar forms of worship and of government that he had left in the old home land. But these emigrants cherished a bitter resentment against the political and religious governments which had persecuted them. Consequently they rejected the episcopacy and prohibited the use of the English Book of Common Prayer. This attitude toward the book was to have far-reaching consequences in later years.

The Plymouth colony was formed by the Pilgrims, who were Separatists; and the colony of Massachusetts Bay by the Puritans. Although the origins of their religious attitudes differed, they came to have more and more in common. The first great physical fact was that

they both had three thousand miles of ocean between England and themselves. Thus the Puritans, too, practically became Separatists. In time the two peoples made common cause against a common enemy, for in New England a type of life came into existence which differed from anything the world had ever seen before. A great experiment was under way, and it worked itself out in an intense drama.

Leaving behind them the English Book of Common Prayer and the episcopal form of church government, the Puritans soon ceased to look to the mother country even for the education of their ministers. Harvard College, "The first flower of the wilderness," was founded in 1636, and that event is recorded in immortal words:

"After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our homes, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed

for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

Rapidly it was coming about that the spiritual life of New England was self-reliant. The church in Plymouth, with its simple congregational form of church government, became the type for the other churches as they were organized. As early in the Puritan settlement as the organization of the church in Salem, action was taken which was epoch-making. A simple covenant was adopted, without a creedal statement. Then Samuel Skelton was elected "pastor" and Francis Higginson "teacher." These men they then ordained by the laying on of hands and prayer. But these two men, there ordained, were already ordained clergymen of the Church of England. Thus the principles of Separatism spread rapidly in the new communities of the Puritans.

A few marks distinguished these early

churches. They were governed by their own congregations, each one being entirely independent. Their pastors were chosen by votes of the members and had no ecclesiastical superiors. The sole authority in matters of doctrine was the Bible; and especially was the New Testament studied as revealing the Christian form of church government and of Christian living.

The use of a covenant, instead of a creed, gave large opportunity for the exercise of private judgment in the interpretation of scripture. But, as has been pointed out, the Calvinistic method of Biblical interpretation went hand in hand with the Bible, and, for many minds, the two were synonymous. The harshness of the pioneer life created an atmosphere in which Calvinism easily grew.

Yet discussion of purely theological problems was sometimes overshadowed by the discussion of methods of government. For some decades the colonists were left very much to

themselves, the home government in England not regarding these settlements as of large political importance or commercial value. The same men who constituted a local church made up the electorate of the community. The connection of church government and political government became very close—so close, indeed, that they constituted a theocracy. In 1635 Rev. John Cotton of Boston drew up, for the government of the colony, a law-code drawn from the old Hebraic laws as recorded in the early books of the Bible. It became a common thing in courts of law to cite Biblical authority. Often capital punishment was inflicted on the precedent of Levitical legislation.

From the beginning of the Puritan settlement it was the ideal to make the political government an expression of the will of the church. It was early enacted that the voters in a town should be those who, according to the laws of the church, were eligible to join in the Lord's Supper. Though an increasing number of men

came to the colony who were not thus spiritually qualified for the electorate, this law was unmodified till the middle of the seventeenth century. Men who were taxed for the support of the church and of the political government, and were liable for military service against the Indians, protested; but for many years their protest was unheeded.

In the minds of many people the fact that the Puritans of the colony persecuted the Quakers, the Baptists and others, is regarded as proof of religious intolerance. Yes, there was religious intolerance, but these persecutions were regarded as a necessary means of self-protection for the colony. The Baptists insisted that infant baptism was unchristian; that consequently the men who made up the membership of the churches of the colony were not truly Christian, nor qualified for church membership. If this principle had been applied, the civil government would have fallen to the ground. Hence Baptists were regarded more as

anarchists than as heretics. At a time when English law permitted the death penalty for two hundred offenses, the Quakers declared capital punishment wrong. In New England, where warfare against the Indians was frequent and was regarded as an absolute necessity, the Quaker doctrine of the wickedness of war was regarded as subversive of the government.

Equally there was persecution of any who advocated the episcopacy in church government, for it was quite incompatible with the theocratic government of the towns and of the colony. The episcopal form of church government was prohibited. This prevented the organization, in New England, of churches in fellowship with the established Church of England. Members of the Church of England who did not become members of the parish churches in the colony were ineligible for the electorate. To speak or act in the endeavor to form a church of the fellowship of the Church of Eng-

land was regarded as subversive of the government of the colony. Thus the theocratic government of the colony legislated and acted for its own preservation and its self-protection. Religious opinions might not be dangerous in themselves, but they were regarded as dangerous if they were subversive of the government of the colony; and many people, including Quakers and Baptists, were driven out of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Meantime in England the Puritans attained supreme political power for a brief and stormy period. Civil and religious strife brought about the execution of Charles I, king of England, in 1649. The Commonwealth, under Cromwell, had a turbulent career, and, tired of civil war, the people permitted the return of Charles II, who was crowned in 1661. He was followed by James II, his brother, in 1685, who reigned three years.

Charles II and James II felt that the restoration of the royal line to the throne gave them

the privilege of a large measure of autocratic power. This power was felt in New England, for the political significance and commercial value of the colonies was being recognized. A series of autocratic acts on the part of the king aroused the intense resentment of the colonists and especially created the fear that their form of religious government was jeopardized.

At the accession of Charles II in 1661, the Puritan government of England ended; and the government of the colony of Massachusetts Bay sent commissioners to England to establish a working agreement with the king. He promised to respect their charter, but demanded that they take the oath of allegiance to the king, and repeal their law restricting the right of suffrage to their church members and also repeal the law which prohibited the episcopal form of church government. For years the colonists delayed action and replied evasively to these demands regarding their laws. In 1679 a royal order reached Boston demanding im-

mediate obedience to the earlier demands. Again there was evasion on the part of the colonial government. In 1684 the king demanded the change of these laws or the surrender of the charter of the colony.

One of the most critical events in New England history was a great town-meeting in the Old South Meeting House in Boston at which the question was considered. When a vote was taken on the surrendering of the charter not a man voted to make the surrender. The reply of the king was a decree annulling the charter. The colonists regarded their charter not only as the foundation of their civil government, but the guaranty of their right to their own form of religion. In this action of the king, and the attitude of the colonists, the War of the American Revolution became inevitable.

The sudden death of Charles II in 1685, and the accession of his brother, James II, to the throne of England, brought no relief to the American colonies, but rather increased the

tension of the situation. The new king launched a policy of more severe repression, his determination being to abolish all the local governments in America and establish a completely autocratic government. To carry out his will he sent over Sir Edmund Andros, a man whose disposition fitted him for the autocratic work expected of him.

As viceroy, Andros brought the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey under his control, with Boston as the seat of his government. He took steps immediately for the erection of an edifice of the established Church of England, and, without waiting for its completion, a royal edict was issued demanding that one of the meeting houses in Boston be seized so that the worship of the Church of England could be instituted immediately. The demand which Andros made for the use of the Old South Meeting House was refused and stoutly resisted, but the meeting house was

taken by force, and, from Good Friday 1687 until the downfall of Andros the service of the Church of England was read there regularly. The congregation which owned the meeting house held their service at the close of the service of the Church of England, but the governor delighted in keeping them waiting outside in the street an hour or more when it suited his whim.

This tyrant abolished the legislature of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and deprived the town-meetings of the right to impose taxes. Many were the political wrongs inflicted on the colonists, but the construction of King's Chapel in Boston was, in their eyes, the hated symbol of all oppressions and iniquities which they suffered. England endured the tyranny of James II only three years, and then drove him from the throne, and he was succeeded by William of Orange. When this news reached Boston there was an insurrection against Andros,

and he was seized as he sought to make his escape in the disguise of feminine apparel.

King's Chapel was not yet completed when this revolution took place. But by one of those strange successions of events which add so much to the romance of history, King's Chapel, the symbol of royal tyranny, resented bitterly by the Puritans of New England, became an example of the very thing at which Puritanism aimed: the purifying of the worship and government of the Church of England. This will appear in the development of our story, and we shall see the unique place of King's Chapel in the religious upheaval which was to follow within a half century of the Revolutionary War.

Does the resentment which the colonists felt, over the building of King's Chapel, seem extreme? Not when we realize the spirit of the royal tyranny. Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire, a willing tool of tyranny, wrote in 1683 to the Committee for Foreign Plantations:

"Touching ecclesiastical matters, the attempting to settle the way of the Church of England I perceive will be very grievous to the people. . . . It is my humble opinion that it will be absolutely necessary to admit no person into any place of trust but such as take the sacrament and are conformable to the rites of the Church of England, for others will be so influenced by their ministers as will obstruct the good settlement of this place, and I utterly despair (as I wrote in my former to your lordships) of any true duty and obedience paid to His Majesty until their college be suppressed and their ministers silenced." Incidentally, the proposition to suppress Harvard College, founded expressly to educate ministers for the Puritan churches, and to silence the ministers of the churches, was sufficient ground for intense resentment. That resentment foreshadowed the Revolutionary War.

The theocracy of these New England colonists cemented them to resist the tyranny of

the Stuarts, yet this theocracy did not long survive that conflict. William III, succeeding James II, conciliated the colonists and restored many of their liberties. In 1692 a new charter was granted to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, the territory of the colony being greatly enlarged. The colonial legislature was restored, and its exclusive right to impose taxes was recognized. But from that time on a property qualification and not church membership was required of voters.

It is evident, therefore, that the Puritans of New England had little inclination and less time for theological controversy among themselves during these turbulent years when they were contending for the very existence of their civil governments and their churches. Calvinism was the prevailing form of theology, but, even if many members of Puritan churches were in favor of a more liberal view, it was necessary that the Puritans unite their forces against these tyrants who menaced their exist-

ence. Then, too, the custom of having a covenant instead of a creed as the bond of fellowship of the local church left much latitude for individual opinion.

Between the revolution of 1689, when the revolt against Andros occurred, and the War of the American Revolution, however, much transpired to change the theological atmosphere of New England. The spirit of the covenants of the earliest churches might have continued, and there might have been a tolerant attitude which would allow Calvinists and non-Calvinists to "dwell together in unity" had it not been that Life did the unexpected thing of producing Jonathan Edwards. On the edge of the wilderness, in a new and crude civilization, among a people busy fighting Indians, resisting tyrants, and wringing a scanty livelihood from a reluctant soil, Life produced a great metaphysician whose thought was destined to reshape the religious life of New England, to spread far beyond these borders, and to con-

tinue into the distant future. He was born in 1703 and became the personification of Calvinism, and pushed it to its extremest expression.

He began his great work about a century after the founding of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. During that first century the gradual tendency was toward greater latitude in theology. Harvard College was an influence for a broadly tolerant spirit and a growing freedom of thought. After the downfall of the Stuart dynasty in England the friendship of New England for the mother country increased, and there were influences from England which tended toward greater liberality, among them the Arminian theology, which was a growing power in Europe. Yet in such a situation, if the spirit of toleration be shattered, the possibility of controversy becomes great. And Jonathan Edwards did shatter that spirit, and rent the peace of the New England Congregational Churches.

In an amazing way Life dramatized this

theological situation which grew out of the incompatibility of Calvinism and Arminianism. In the same year that Jonathan Edwards was born, Life produced also John Wesley, who was destined to outlive Jonathan Edwards by thirty-three years. His more tolerant and spiritual theology was destined to dissolve the Calvinism of Edwards.

In 1692, the year of the new charter of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, Timothy Edwards graduated from Harvard College, and, for sixty-three years was minister of the church in Windsor Farms, Connecticut. His wife was the daughter of the minister in Northampton, Massachusetts. Their son, Jonathan, born in 1703, became the associate minister, with his grandfather, of the church in Northampton, where he remained twenty-three years. As a child he was precocious, writing philosophical treatises at nine years, reading Latin, Greek and Hebrew at thirteen, and graduating from

Yale College, with highest honors, at seventeen.

"The Great Awakening," an intense religious revival which stirred New England profoundly, resulted from his preaching. Yet the tendency of his principal life-work was to create strife, divide men into parties and stir up the sectarian spirit. Even so the churches of New England might have continued as one fellowship, though engaged in animated theological debate, had it not been for the coming of George Whitefield. His work was strongly divisive.

The indirect influence, upon New England religious life, of the revival led by John Wesley in England, has never been fully measured; and indeed it never can be. George Whitefield, though not a theologian, was a powerful emotional preacher, a strong ally of Wesley for many years; but Whitefield became increasingly Calvinistic, while Wesley became more intensely Arminian in theology. The two had

to part company, and they decided to put the Atlantic Ocean between them. Wesley continued his work in England and Whitefield came to New England to share the work of the "Great Awakening." Whitefield went up and down the highways of New England reproaching the Calvinists of the Puritan churches for having fellowship with non-Calvinists. In his work the division of these churches into two sects was foreshadowed.

His co-religionist, Jonathan Edwards, was a clear thinker, sharply logical, a powerful preacher and a great theologian. He gave to his own preaching and that of Whitefield a theological frame of extreme rigidity. Thus the Calvinists were driven, in the bitterness of controversy, to extreme expression of their theology. And, with its sharp polarity, this controversy drove the non-Calvinists to equally extreme expression of their views. The breaking point seemed to be reached when there was an

interruption of the controversy, by the approach of the Revolutionary War.

Jonathan Edwards was elected president of Princeton College in 1758 and died that year. Whitefield died in 1770 in Newburyport, Massachusetts, and was buried there. The growing irritation between England and the American colonies turned the thoughts of the men of New England from this strife among themselves to the inevitable conflict with the motherland. They dropped their religious differences among themselves to fight their common oppressor. Yet the controversy over Calvinism was to break out in even more bitter form when the confusion of the War of the Revolution had receded into the past and the political problems of creating the Republic had been met.

If the argumentative advantage had been with the Calvinistic party before the War of the Revolution, the opposite party had gained much advantage during the period of the War.

Calvinism, exalting the sovereignty of God, belittled man. The principles of the Revolution exalted man while devoutly acknowledging God. Men could not assert that "all men are created free and equal" and then consistently assert the principles of Calvinism. The opposition to Calvinism became better prepared for the sharp division that was to follow.

As the events preceding the War of the Revolution were moving on toward the great crisis, the New England ministers of the Puritan order were drawn more and more into solidarity in spite of their differences of theological opinion. They held their major principles in common; and they were united against the tyranny which threatened them. That tyranny was linked with the presence of the Episcopal churches in growing number. Conceivably the ministers of a country might concern themselves much with theology while the fighting forces carried on war; but this war was in large measure inspired by religious feeling.

The intensity of the feelings of the Puritan ministers is revealed in letters, diaries and records of the period. English troops were massed in Boston in May, 1774, "to maintain royal authority by military force." Yet in November of that year the records of the Boston Association of ministers show that they voted unanimously that in future they would not read in their churches any proclamations by the governor. It was customary, when a new governor arrived, for the ministers to join in the ceremonies by making addresses of welcome. The records of this same meeting show a unanimous vote "That for the time to come we will make no Addresses to any governor that may be appointed over the province."

During the siege of Boston, April, 1775, to March, 1776, the Puritan churches of Boston were shamefully desecrated by the English troops. After the evacuation of Boston Dr. Andrew Eliot, minister of the New North Church, wrote: "This inglorious retreat hath

raised the spirit of the Colonists to the highest pitch. They look upon it as a complete victory. I dare now to say what I did not dare to say before this,—I have long thought it,—that Great Britain *cannot* subjugate the colonies. Independence a year ago could not have been publicly mentioned with impunity. Nothing else is now talked of, and I know not what can be done by Great Britain to prevent it." He then recounts the desecration of the churches: the Old North pulled down, the Old South "made a riding school for the Light Horse, the house gutted and the inside totally destroyed," three churches "turned into barracks without any appearance of necessity," another filled with hay, and another made into a hospital.

Incidentally it is of interest to record that Dr. Eliot in the same letter tells of attending a meeting of the Overseers and Corporation of Harvard College, and writes: "We voted General Washington a degree of LL.D. He is a

fine gentleman, and hath charmed everybody since he hath had the command."

When General Howe, commander of the British troops, evacuated Boston, a fleet of ships transported many "Tories" to Halifax. Rev. Henry Caner, rector of King's Chapel, fled with General Howe. Eighteen Episcopal clergymen from Boston and its vicinity were in the exodus. At Trinity Church was an assistant rector, Rev. Samuel Parker, a young man who had not roused the resentment of those who sympathized with the aspirations of the colonists. Dr. Andrew Eliot in a broad-minded spirit went to Mr. Parker and showed him that the members of the Episcopal Church were about to be deprived of their worship by the flight of the clergy, and prevailed upon him to remain at his post.

Of the pew-holders of King's Chapel about thirty families joined the exodus, and forty-three families remained, siding with the colonial cause in the "civil war" which followed.

These proprietors of King's Chapel invited the members of Trinity Church to unite with them, as King's Chapel was centrally located, and to bring Mr. Parker with them. This offer was declined. After being closed for a time, King's Chapel was opened for regular services of worship when the congregation of the Old South Church united with the congregation of King's Chapel. In view of the wanton desecration of the Old South Church by the British troops, there is something deeply moving in this spiritual fellowship between these two churches.

The sympathy which developed through this time of worshipping together, doubtless had its influence on the action of the congregation of King's Chapel by which it became a striking example, before the eyes of New England, of what the Puritans had demanded for generations—the purifying of the ritual and the government of the Episcopal Church. This is one

of the most dramatic events in New England history.

In 1776, when the united colonies declared their independence, James Freeman, a young man of eighteen years, was a student in Harvard College. He went into the colonial army, did valiant service, was made prisoner, but gained his freedom after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. Returning to Boston in 1782, he became lay reader at King's Chapel. He was a "liberal" in his theology. His church, by force of circumstances, was detached from the fellowship of the Church of England, and had no formal fellowship with the churches of the Puritan tradition. Therefore the minister and congregation revised the ritual. In the minds of many people the theological idea of sovereignty as applied to God was as obnoxious as the political idea of sovereignty as applied to the king. And the sovereignty of God was associated with the dogma of the Trinity. Therefore this revision of the

ritual of King's Chapel stripped it of references to royal authority and to the doctrine of the Trinity.

When the congregation sought Episcopal ordination for the Rev. James Freeman, it was refused, both in America and in England. Again the congregation proceeded on the Puritan principle of the authority of the local church, and James Freeman was ordained by a layman, the senior warden of King's Chapel. There was intense interest in this act in New England; and the Puritans had before their eyes a striking and unexpected example of Puritanism in action.

Chapter Three

A SPIRITUAL MAGNA CHARTA

BY the year 1800 the political confusion consequent upon the War of the Revolution had subsided; but in New England the theological parties were drawing their lines more sharply, and New England Congregationalism was moving toward the tragedy of separation. The extreme dogmatism which had been developed in both parties by the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, and more especially by George Whitefield, flared up again and became even more extreme. Samuel Hopkins, who, in 1791, published his chief work, *A System of Theology,* was the successor of Jonathan Edwards as the leader of the extreme Calvinistic party, which came to be called "The Hopkinsians." A party with a leader and a

name was thus devoted to the propagation of Calvinism and was pushing it to its utmost argumentative conclusions.

In sharp opposition to this party was another which took only reluctantly the name "Unitarian," but which later put the name upon its banner. Through centuries many men had associated the doctrine of the Trinity with the exercise of arbitrary power. In the revolt against the Church of Rome, at the time of the Reformation, there were men who felt that freedom from compulsion meant freedom from the doctrines of the church. Under the system of Calvinism there were many men who were entirely willing to *believe* in some form of trinitarianism but who revolted against the *compulsions* of Calvinism. Religious autocracy was not always distinguishable from the creeds of Catholicism or of Calvinism.

In asserting, in its extremest form, the doctrine of freedom of thought, Voltaire said to a neighbor: "I disagree with everything you have

said, but I am willing to die in defense of your right to say it." And, conversely, there were men in New England who could have said to the Calvinists: "I am willing to believe all the doctrines which you teach, but I am willing to die resisting your claim of authority to compel me."

Among those who thus resisted Calvinism was Dr. William Bentley of Salem, who in his diary in 1792, used the expression, "the abominable doctrine of the Trinity." If one may judge by the general spirit of the anti-Calvinistic party of that time, it is safe to say that it was not a view of the Divine Being which he abominated so much as the bitter spirit of men who were pushing their Calvinistic views to their extreme expression and were determined to drive the "liberals" out of the fellowship of New England Congregationalism. Calvinistic aggressiveness naturally brought forth a leadership of opposition. Dr. James Freeman of King's Chapel, who had led his congregation

in their dramatic Puritanic action in revising the Book of Common Prayer, omitting the expressions of the doctrine of the Trinity, became a leader of the liberal movement.

The controversy became exceedingly bitter. On both sides men were driven to a more extreme expression of opinion than would have been normal in a calm and deliberate debate. There were three parties in New England Congregationalism—the extreme Calvinists, the extreme liberals, and the moderates. For a time it was an open question which way the moderates would turn. This was instanced in the critical situation which arose in Harvard College in the election of the Hollis Professor of Theology. Many men argued that the terms of the endowment required that he be a Calvinist. But in 1805 Rev. Henry Ware of Hingham, a pronounced liberal, was elected. There was a storm of protest; and a widespread feeling that the college which, from almost the beginning of colonial life, had trained men for the min-

istry of all the colonial churches had turned to a party which was made up of a minority of the churches, and which had departed from the historic faith. The moderates joined with the Calvinists in founding Andover Theological Seminary in 1808. Just a century later this seminary returned to Cambridge and entered into affiliation with the Harvard Divinity School, an action which has created a difficult problem involving action in the Massachusetts courts.

This controversy, while having its influence throughout New England and in wider circles, was focused in Boston with its center near the State House, and Harvard College near the center. Yet an event in Baltimore, Maryland, was epoch-making. In 1816, Dr. James Freeman of King's Chapel, Boston, chanced to preach in Baltimore; and this stirred so great an interest that a new church was organized. Two years later Dr. Freeman returned to Baltimore for the dedication of the new church building. Then Jared Sparks (afterwards to be

president of Harvard College) was called as minister. It was at his ordination, in 1819, that Dr. William Ellery Channing preached the famous "Baltimore sermon" which has been called "the Magna Charta of liberal religion."

Its effect was electric. Within a year one hundred and fifty churches of New England declared their adherence to Channing's position; and these included every Congregational church in Boston except one—that one being the famous Old South Church. A majority of the First Parishes within thirty miles of Boston adhered to the liberal party.

The Baltimore sermon was essentially a redeclaration of the Protestant principle of the right of private judgment. Though its forms of statement were sharpened by the current controversy, it is judicial in its expression and profoundly spiritual in its outlook. It asserts the right of men to think freely; declares that men are to interpret the Bible by the clearest spiritual light they can gain; and insists that, when

thus interpreted, the Bible sustains not Calvinism, but the broader views of the liberal party. He adopts frankly the name "Unitarian" which the liberal party had been reluctant to use; and from that time on the name was inescapable.

As John Wesley said: "No Scripture can mean that God is not love, or that His mercy is not over all His works," so Channing says: "Enough has been said to show in what sense we make use of reason in interpreting Scripture. From a variety of possible interpretations we select that which accords . . . with the known character and will of God." And again Channing says: "We believe that God never contradicts, in one part of Scripture, what He teaches in another; and never contradicts, in revelation, what He teaches in His works and providence. . . . Without these principles of interpretation, we frankly acknowledge that we cannot defend the Divine authority of the

Scriptures. Deny us this latitude, and we must abandon this book to its enemies."

Channing shows that even men who claimed to accept the Bible most literally were really putting their own interpretation upon it. He says: "We do not announce these principles as original or peculiar to ourselves. All Christians occasionally adopt them, not excepting those who most vehemently decry them when they happen to menace some favorite article of their creed. . . . All willingly avail themselves of reason, when it can be pressed into the service of their own party, and only complain of it when its weapons wound themselves. . . . It is worthy of remark how nearly the bigot and the skeptic approach. Both would annihilate our confidence in our faculties, and both throw doubt and confusion over truth."

At the conclusion of his sermon, in his charge to the new minister, Jared Sparks, Dr. Channing said: "If you recollect in what degree the spirit of intolerance has checked free

inquiry, not only before but since the Reformation, you will see that Christianity cannot have freed itself from all the human inventions which disfigured it under the Papal tyranny. . . . The minds of individuals are oppressed under the weight of numbers, and a Papal dominion is perpetuated in the Protestant Church. Our earnest prayer to God is . . . that the conspiracy of ages against the liberty of Christians may be brought to an end . . . and that Christianity, thus purified from error, may put forth its almighty energy and prove itself, by its ennobling influence on the mind, to be indeed 'the power of God unto salvation.' "

Many people at that time, and ever since, have failed to perceive the essential purpose of Channing's declaration. They assume that he was defending the doctrines of a sect; but in reality he was reasserting the eternal truth of the presence of the living God in the souls of living men. Again and again, through the ages, that supreme truth is rediscovered through

spiritual experience. When men seek to define it, and reduce it to logical forms, it shrinks and fades; and men find themselves with empty dogmas. When it is renewed every morning by new experience it produces a revival of religion.

Channing was immediately recognized as a new prophet of "the religion of the Spirit." Catholicism exalted the authority of the church and put to death many men who revolted against that authority. Calvinism asserted the authority of the Book, and interpreted it in the most rigid and literal way. The burning of Servetus, at the instigation of Calvin, was a solitary incident, but was a symptom of an autocratic spirit in Calvinism. Channing exalted the voice of the living God above any outer thing, thus finding the seat of religious authority occupied by the Infinite Spirit, making His dwelling-place in the souls of enlightened men.

It is impossible to surmise how great a revival of spiritual religion might have come to

New England from this new utterance of prophetic faith. Historically the religious situation became suddenly embittered by legal fights over material possessions, particularly over church property. In New England Congregationalism it was customary to have a parish organization which held the property and a church organization which guided spiritual affairs. In some towns the majority of the parish organization sided with the liberal party and the majority of the church organization sided with the conservatives. In the famous Dedham case, in 1820, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts decided that the parish was the legal owner of the property, and that the church, going out from the parish, must go empty-handed. This decision was far-reaching, for it was a precedent for many similar situations.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in the Dedham case was made on strictly legal grounds. It reads: "When the majority of a Congregational church shall separate

from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in such parish, and retain the rights and property belonging thereto." This sweeping decision affected eighty-one churches, in which a majority of the members held the orthodox position in the theological controversy and went out from their respective parishes, leaving the property to the liberal element.

It has been estimated that nearly four thousand church members, holding the orthodox faith, went out from their parishes in this schism. In these parishes, though the majority of the members of the parish were liberal, the remaining members of the church numbered in the total only about twelve hundred. Thus nearly four thousand church members surrendered the property of eighty-one churches to about twelve hundred members.

There was great indignation over this decision and much bitterness. It seemed to violate the principles of spiritual right and of equity,

even if legally no other decision could have been made. But the years which might have witnessed a great revival of spiritual faith, following the movement for the emancipation of men from the fatalism of Calvin's theology, were darkened by this bitterness and strife.

The liberal movement had rendered a really great service in freeing the minds of men from the burden of the belief in inherited guilt. But for some years the people who were involved in this movement were busy with problems of property and of organization. What had been the liberal element in New England Congregationalism became a denomination, with many church buildings, many ministers, and the problems of shaping a new denominational life. In 1825 the American Unitarian Association was organized in Boston. Its announced purpose was "to diffuse the principles of pure Christianity." The new movement had the prestige of numerous churches in Boston and eastern Massachusetts, many ministers of influ-

ence and scholarship, the sympathy of a large element in Harvard College, and the social standing of many of the members of the churches. Then it had its feeling of youth and its sense of freedom from the Calvinistic theology. It had preachers and poets, teachers and reformers. In its early years this new liberal denomination seemed destined to have a large spiritual influence and to win great numerical success. Its leaders believed that they lived in a golden age which would increase in glory.

Chapter Four

THE GREATEST OF THE PURITANS

CENTRAL in the romance of the development of New England life is the personality of Charles W. Eliot. More than any other man, he epitomizes this life. His personality stands as its climax. Geographically, his birthplace was at the storm center of New England's political revolutions and its theological developments. Educationally, his life is woven into the story of Harvard College, founded to supply learned ministers for the Puritan churches, and by him transformed into a great university. Vitally, his lineage links him with the first generation of the great Puritan migration from England to New England, and his ancestors shared in the stirring events which

made New England life unique. Spiritually, he was reared in the religious nurture of King's Chapel which had given a dramatic example of what Puritanism really meant. By family ties, by religious and intellectual fellowship and by his youthful enthusiasms he was related to the leaders in the "golden age" of New England religious life of the first part of the nineteenth century. He inherited the austerity, the vigor and the tenacity of purpose which characterized the best of the Puritan way of living. Believing ardently in the Puritan principle of the worth of human personality, he gave that principle its great expression in his revolutionary work for the education of American youth. And through all this, the secret power of his life was an intense, ardent, devoted religious faith which gave him an abiding consciousness of being linked with the Almighty. From that conscious relationship with God he derived courage, strength, and patience for his long and laborious life.

The site of his birthplace is now covered by one wing of the Massachusetts State House, on Beacon Street in Boston. Near at hand is King's Chapel in which his father was a warden and the choirmaster, and in which the son became a Sunday-school teacher. King's Chapel had its intense traditions of the contest between the Puritans and the Episcopalians; between the valiant men who contended for their religious rights and the tyrant, Governor Andros. It had its later history of becoming a genuinely Puritan church by the revision of the English Book of Common Prayer and the ordination of Dr. James Freeman by a layman, the senior warden of the church. It had its recent memories of being recognized as a leader in the movement for liberal religion in the revolt against extreme Calvinism. In his youth Charles W. Eliot became an ardent and devoted member of this church and a regular communicant. He married Ellen D. Peabody,

the daughter of his minister, Dr. Ephraim Peabody.

He was born in 1834, within a decade of the organization of the liberal party of New England Congregationalism as a separate denomination, when all of the Congregational churches of Boston except the Old South Church joined the new movement with great enthusiasm. Dr. Channing's leadership was at full tide, and, on the principles of his famous "Baltimore sermon," thousands of people were enlisting under the new religious banner. Indeed, that sermon, which was published immediately after it was delivered, passed through five editions within six weeks, and its circulation has continued for more than a hundred years. It is estimated that its circulation has been larger than that of any other sermon in the history of organized Christianity. As a lad, Charles W. Eliot felt the glow and the ardor of this new religious movement.

He was reared in a household that was de-

voted to religion. With all the background of the Puritan faith for many generations, and with the inheritance of a family long connected with Harvard College, it would have seemed entirely natural if he had entered the Christian ministry. His father was born in 1798 and studied for the ministry at Harvard, but never preached; he studied abroad and then turned to a life of public service. In the Eliot home religion was the principal interest and in this atmosphere of genuine piety in his home and in his church, Charles W. Eliot found religion as natural as the breath of life. His naturally logical mind learned, even in his boyhood, to distinguish between what was deemed essential and what non-essential in Christian faith; and this desire for clear distinctions was manifested by him to the end of his long life.

At the age of fifteen years, the lad entered Harvard College, and on graduation became a tutor and then an assistant professor of mathematics and chemistry. In 1860 he was made the

head of the chemical laboratory of the Lawrence Scientific School, a department of Harvard. In 1863 he went to Europe to study educational methods, and in 1865 he returned to Boston to become professor of chemistry in the newly organized Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1869 he was elected president of Harvard.

As a student and as a teacher he had gained an insight into educational methods, and he was deeply impressed by the inadequacy of the prevailing methods of education. His mind revolted against the compulsions of rigid systems which checked originality of thought and the development of personal powers. In the background of his ancestral life were the revolts against the tyrannies of political systems. From his youth he had sympathized with a great revolt against the compulsions of a theological system. And now, as he was about to begin his great career in education, he saw that an educational tyranny may be as deadly as political

or theological tyranny. It was in his blood and in his spirit to lead a revolt against the tyranny which he had experienced in school and college. He was prepared to make a declaration on behalf of human freedom which would be like the American Declaration of Independence or the liberal revolt against Calvinism. And, as these two great events were expressions of spiritual religion, so the educational revolution, led by Charles W. Eliot, was the expression of an earnest spiritual faith, a faith in the infinitely precious powers divinely given to human personality. That faith he had derived not so much from a study of educational methods as from religious convictions. In the course of his life he acknowledged most strikingly his debt to Channing and to Emerson in the clarifying of his thought for his great life-work.

In that "golden age" in New England life, in which he was born, the essential spirit was a *fervor for humanity*. The theological discussions may seem bewildering, the reform move-

ments confusing, and the religious revolt chaotic; but if we fix our attention on this fervor for humanity we shall see the central point toward which all these lines of influence converged. Prophets, poets, reformers and educators were moved by it. Calvinism asserted above all else the sovereignty of God and supported the assertion with what seemed like irrefutable proof. But when men asserted the measureless value of human personality they rejected Calvinism without waiting to disprove it logically. This sense of human worth was central in Channing's theology and also in his work as a reformer. He did notable work in the agitation against slavery and against war, and for education and for philanthropy.

It is highly significant that in that "golden age" the major poets of New England were the singers of the new liberal movement in religion. Henry W. Longfellow, born in 1807, became a professor in Harvard College two years after the birth of Charles W. Eliot. Oliver

Wendell Holmes, born in 1809, professor in the Harvard Medical School, was a member of King's Chapel, Boston. James Russell Lowell, born in 1819, succeeded Longfellow in his professorship at Harvard. Samuel Longfellow, born the same year as James Russell Lowell, while not as great a poet as his brother, wrote many splendid hymns. Julia Ward Howe was also born in 1819 and was an ardent reformer. William Cullen Bryant, a native of Massachusetts, was born in 1794. Whittier, a Quaker, was born in 1807 and was a leader of the liberal party in his fellowship. From these poets, and others, spiritual religion gained great poetical expression; and the hymns of that period have influenced the spiritual life of every Christian denomination.

Controversy does not, of itself, produce great poetry or moving hymns. Yet the spiritual insight of that "golden age" and its fervor for humanity produced a great era in poetry and song. The same emphasis on human values led

reformers and educators to do revolutionary work. Dorothea Dix was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1805, and did notable work for prisoners and the insane. Horace Mann, born in 1796, reformed the Massachusetts public-school system. Joseph Tuckerman was a pioneer in the reform of methods in philanthropy, guided by the new emphasis on human values. The members of this group were inspired by liberal faith and its fervor for humanity. As prophets, poets, reformers, and educators they expressed this one central conviction.

Many of these significant personalities had a deep influence on Charles W. Eliot in his early years, during the time of his education, and during his life-work. In his emphasis on the worth of the powers of human personality he was moved by the same spirit which, in them, received so great expression. Channing's central doctrine of human values was an in-

spiration to every mind in this notable group of leaders.

In the succession of the prophets, Emerson follows in the footsteps of Channing. His Divinity School Address was delivered in 1838, and its influence was sufficiently intense and prolonged to influence the youthful thinking of Charles W. Eliot. Emerson was speaking directly to a group of young men who were preparing for the Christian ministry; and indirectly to the church universal. This address is an ardent plea for men to gain a first-hand experience of God. He shows that the church and its work become cold and formal without this radiant experience.

Emerson declares that "the religious sentiment . . . is divine and deifying . . . and creates all forms of worship." This sounds today like a bland statement, but it was then an exact reversal of the prevalent view that the preservation of forms was primary and the experience of religion secondary. Most emphatic

is Emerson's statement of the first-hand source of spiritual experience. He says: "The unique impression of Jesus upon mankind, whose name is not so much written as ploughed into the history of this world, is proof of the subtle virtue of this infusion. Meantime, whilst the doors of the temple stand open, night and day, before every man, and the oracles of this truth cease never, it is guarded by one stern condition; this namely: it is an intuition. It cannot be received at second hand."

He continues: "Jesus Christ belonged to the true race of the prophets. He saw with open eye the mystery of the soul. Drawn by its severe harmony, ravished with its beauty, he lived in it and had his being there. Alone in all history he estimated the greatness of man. . . . He saw that God incarnates Himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of His world. . . . It is the office of a true teacher to show us that God *is,* not *was,* that He speaketh, not spake. . . . Your-

self a new-born bard of the Holy Ghost, cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity. . . . Faith makes its own forms. . . . Let the breath of life be breathed by you through the forms already existing; for if once you are alive, you shall find they shall become plastic and new. . . . I look for that hour when the supreme Beauty which ravished the souls of those Eastern men, and chiefly of those Hebrews, and through their lips spoke oracles to all time, shall speak in the West also. . . . I look for the new Teacher that shall follow so far those shining laws that he shall see them come full circle, shall see their rounding complete grace."

Conservatives declared that Emerson's address was destructive of faith; but the same is said of every new prophet of the Spirit, every leader who discovers anew the presence of the Living God in the souls of living men. They said the same of Theodore Parker, who continued the prophetic work of Emerson. In 1837

Parker was a young man beginning his Boston ministry, and in 1838 Emerson delivered his Divinity School Address. In "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity," Parker makes vital distinctions and carries forward the thought of his predecessors. He says:

"Looking at the word of Jesus, at real Christianity, the pure religion he taught, nothing appears more fixed and certain. . . . But looking at the history of what men call Christianity, nothing seems more uncertain and perishable. . . . There seem to have been, ever since the time of its earthly founder, two elements, the one transient, the other permanent. . . . Too little stress has been laid on the divine life of the soul. . . . Our reasonings, and therefore our theological doctrines, are imperfect, and so perishing. . . . But meantime, if we are faithful, the great truths of morality and religion, the deep sentiment of love to God and love to man, are perceived intuitively.

"Christianity is a simple thing. . . . Its

sanction is the voice of God in your heart; the perpetual presence of Him who made us and the stars over our head; Christ and the Father abiding within us. All this is very simple—a little child can understand it; very beautiful—the loftiest mind can find nothing so lovely. Try it by reason, conscience and faith,—things highest in man's nature,—we see no redundance, we feel no deficiency. . . . The end of Christianity seems to be to make all men one with God as Christ was one with Him. . . . Jesus stood and looked up to God. There was nothing between him and the Father of all . . . no sin or perverseness of the finite will. As the result of this virgin purity of soul and perfect obedience, the light of God shone down into the very depths of his soul, bringing all of the Godhead which flesh can receive.

"Then his words and example passed into the world, and can no more perish than the stars be wiped out of the sky. . . . Real Christianity gives men new life. It is the growth and

perfect action of the Holy Spirit God puts into the sons of men. . . . God send us a real religious life, which shall pluck blindness out of the heart and make us better fathers, mothers and children; a religious life that shall go with us where we go, and make every home the house of God, every act acceptable as a prayer!

"Such, then, is the Transient, and such the Permanent in Christianity. What is of absolute value never changes; we may cling around it and grow to it forever. . . . Yet there are always some, even religious men, who do not see the permanent element, so they rely on the fleeting, and what is also an evil, condemn others for not doing the same. They mistake a defense of the truth for an attack on the holy of holies; the removal of a theological error for the destruction of all religion. . . . If you take the word of God and live out this, nothing shall harm you. . . . The name Christian, given in mockery, will last till the world go down. He that loves God and man, and lives in

accordance with that love, need not fear what man can do unto him."

Thus did man after man rise in dignity to clarify the religion of New England in the first half of the nineteenth century. Prophets of the Spirit asserted again the great reality of the life of God in the soul of man. In such an atmosphere Charles W. Eliot was born and reared and began his life-work. On him, more than upon any other individual, was to devolve the task of carrying forward the essential principle of the capacity of human personality for divine meanings. By a great religious conviction he was destined to influence the youth of America; though it was to be principally through the work of education.

Chapter Five

FAITH AND FREEDOM

IN 1869 Charles W. Eliot became the president of Harvard College. When he delivered his inaugural address, what most of the audience saw and heard was a young man of only thirty-five years who uttered revolutionary principles in the methods of instruction in institutions of learning. What but few perceived was that they were listening to a man who, though with clear cool utterance, was expressing the religious convictions of a mind which had the ardor of youth and the wisdom of a prophet. Those convictions were derived from a large religious faith, and were concerned with the highest welfare of the personalities of the young men of America.

The audience heard the incisive tones of

this young scholar as they uttered such sentences as these: "To learn by rote a list of dates is not to study history. Mr. Emerson says that history is biography. In a deep sense this is true. . . . Philosophical subjects should never be taught with authority. They are not established sciences; they are full of disputed matters, open questions, and bottomless speculations. . . . The very word 'education' is a standing protest against dogmatic teaching. The worthy fruit of academic culture is an open mind, trained to careful thinking, instructed in the methods of philosophical investigation, acquainted in a general way with the accumulated thought of past generations, and penetrated with humility. It is thus that the university in our day serves Christ and the church.

"Only a few years ago, all students who graduated at this College passed through one uniform curriculum. Every man studied the same subjects in the same proportions, without

regard to his natural bent or preference. The individual student had no choice of either subjects or teachers. This system is still the prevailing system among American colleges, and finds vigorous defenders. It has the merit of simplicity. So had the school methods of our grandfathers—one primer, one catechism, one rod for all children. . . . This lack of faith in the prophecy of a natural bent, and in the value of a discipline concentrated upon a single subject, amounts to a national danger.

"In education, the individual traits of different minds have not been sufficiently attended to. . . . But the young man of nineteen or twenty ought to know what he likes best and is most fit for. . . . At that age the teacher may wisely abandon the schooldame's practice. . . . When the revelation of his own peculiar taste and capacity comes to a young man, let him reverently give it welcome, thank God, and take courage. Thereafter he knows his way to happy, enthusiastic work, and, God

willing, to usefulness and success. . . . These principles are the justification of the system of elective studies which has been gradually developed in this College during the past forty years.

"The elective system fosters scholarship, because it gives free play to natural preferences and inborn aptitudes and makes possible enthusiasm for a chosen work. . . . A mind must work to grow. . . . Repression of genuine sentiment and emotion is, indeed, in this College carried too far. . . . Two kinds of men make good teachers—young men and men who never grow old. . . . There are always old radicals and young conservatives. . . ."

There were many persons who heard these ideas expressed and were concerned only for methods in education. They heard only a new administrative officer of a college announcing his policies. So it has been ever since: many people, knowing the application of the prin-

ciples then enunciated, see only the outward appearance of an institution and not the inner spirit of the man, and his deep concern for the spiritual life of other men, especially American youth.

Through many years his emphasis on the elective system in education has been discussed at length, but discussed principally from the points of view of methods in schools and of results in worldly success. But with him the elective system was a form of emancipation of the human spirit. He believed in encouraging the variety of the powers of youth, and that those powers could be developed best when a man's free choice was exercised. This faith in the precious powers of the inner life was derived directly from his religious faith. From his spiritual convictions flowed his confidence in these educational principles. From youth he had imbibed the conviction that religious faith grows most robust in an atmosphere of freedom of thought. And he knew that religion

and education both deal with the development, the education, of the powers of the inner life of man. This young man of thirty-five years was beginning his great life-work which was to revolutionize American education. His inaugural address proved itself to be like an educational Magna Charta for the Republic.

There is a section of the inaugural address which has a special significance. It came naturally in the course of the declaration of principles by the new president of Harvard as he was being inaugurated into his high office, for it is a statement regarding the duties of the Corporation of the College. Yet it is a description of a character in which the ideals of an individual are expressed. It was as if he saw the figure of a stalwart man, and then personified the Corporation as that man. He said:

"We come now to the heart of the University—the Corporation. This board holds the funds, makes appointments, fixes salaries, and has, by right, the initiative in all changes of the

organic law of the University. Such an executive board must be small to be efficient; it must always contain men of sound judgment in finance; and literature and the learned professions should be adequately represented in it. The Corporation should also be but slowly renewed; for it is of utmost consequence to the University that the government should have a steady aim, and a prevailing spirit which is independent of individuals and transmissible from generation to generation. And what should this spirit be?

"First, it should be a catholic spirit. A university must be indigenous; it must be rich; but, above all, it must be free. The winnowing breeze of freedom must blow through all its chambers. It takes a hurricane to blow wheat away. An atmosphere of intellectual freedom is the native air of literature and science. This University aspires to serve the nation by training men to intellectual honesty and independence of mind. The corporation demands of

all its teachers that they be grave, reverent and high-minded; but it leaves them, like their pupils, free. A university is built, not by a sect, but by a nation.

"Secondly, the actuating spirit of the corporation must be a spirit of fidelity—fidelity to the many and varied trusts reposed in them by the hundreds of persons who, out of their penury or their abundance, have given money to the President and Fellows of Harvard College in the beautiful hope of doing some perpetual good upon this earth. The Corporation has constantly done its utmost to make this hope a living fact. . . . The Corporation has been as faithful in the greater things as in the less. They have been greatly blessed in one respect: in the whole life of the Corporation, seven generations of men, nothing has ever been lost by malfeasance of officers or servants. A reputation for scrupulous fidelity to all trusts is the most precious possession of the Corporation. That safe, the College might lose everything

else and yet survive; that lost beyond repair, and the days of the College would be numbered. Testators look first to the trustworthiness and permanence of the body which is to dispense their benefactions.

"Again, the Corporation should always be filled with the spirit of enterprise. An institution like this College is getting decrepit when it sits down contentedly on its mortgages. . . . It should be always pushing after more professorships, better professors, more land and buildings, and better apparatus. It should be eager, sleepless, and untiring, never wasting a moment in counting laurels won, ever prompt to welcome and apply the liberality of the community, and liking no prospect so well as that of difficulties to be overcome and labors to be done in the cause of learning and public virtue."

Having thus described the spirit of the Corporation, the young president of Harvard made a most significant statement. He added:

"You recognize, gentlemen, the picture which I have drawn in thus delineating the true spirit of the Corporation of this College. I have described the noble quintessence of the New England character—that character which has made us a free and enlightened people; that character which, please God, shall yet do a great work in the world for the lifting up of humanity."

In reading this radiant paragraph just quoted, we realize something of what was in the mind of the speaker. He was not merely describing the spirit of a group of men who must manage the affairs of an educational institution. He saw the figure of an individual, as if the Corporation were personified in one great and significant figure. "The noble quintessence of the New England character"—how important that phrase! He saw the whole course of New England life as producing, at its best, a type of character. The great outstanding elements of that character were, he said, catholicity, fidelity and enterprise. The qualities which

give to an individual character its broad-mindedness, its integrity and its progressive life he saw expressed in the personality of the Corporation of Harvard.

Imagine an individual so firmly established in character that his integrity could not be shaken; so greatly endowed with wisdom and power as to surpass any single individual; and then made immortal so that his life was freed from the limits set by human mortality. An ordinary human being, desiring to render service outlasting the normal span of human life, would gladly put the task into the hands of such an individual, that it might be continued through the centuries. The corporation of a college may, indeed, be so pictured if it have the moral and intellectual qualities which Charles W. Eliot ascribed to the group of men of whom he was speaking. The individual may not hope to live on earth forever, but he may help to constitute a personality which has earthly immortality. And this immortal per-

sonality may maintain a great institution with fidelity, wisdom and dependability.

The ideal New England character described in the passage quoted made the people of New England "a free and enlightened people." It had fought on battlefields, legislated in assemblies, prayed in churches, debated in forums, and created a type of civilization new to the world. "That character, please God, shall yet do a great work in the world for the lifting up of humanity"; such was the ardent prayer in the heart of this young man who was being inaugurated as President of Harvard. Whatever any reader of the inaugural address may pass over, he keeps much if he retains the real meaning of this utterance.

In an address made many years later he amplified his views of the catholicity which, he said, was a prime element of the noblest New England character, and especially its presence in the ruling spirit of the University. In his inaugural address he said: "A university is

built, not by a sect, but by a nation." In this later address he said: "In a true university the differences between the various religious denominations are softened, and mutual respect between these diverse Christian organizations is cultivated. The great universities cannot be conducted as strictly denominational organizations. In a nation which has no established church, and in which no one denomination includes more than a small minority of the population, it is impossible to found a university on a sect. . . . With the exception of state universities in the United States, almost all American universities have had a denominational origin; but the leading universities have distinctly abandoned a denominational policy. Harvard University was founded to educate ministers of the established church of the colony of Massachusetts Bay; and for nearly two hundred years it was exclusively in the control of the members of that established church; but for a generation past it has altogether escaped from

these limitations. . . . No denomination is represented by more than a small minority among its students; and its officers are selected for their fitness only, without the least regard to their religious affiliations. . . . In such institutions great bodies of American youth acquire respect for each other's religious inheritances, and learn that conduct has very little to do with creed, or at least is not dependent on theological opinion. Bringing together the young men of different religious communions is one of the most wholesome functions of great universities, and is particularly wholesome in a great Protestant democracy like our own.

"At Harvard University a peculiarly impressive lesson in religious unity and coöperation is systematically taught. The university maintains daily morning prayers and Sunday evening services throughout the year, and a Thursday afternoon service through the winter months. To conduct these services it employs

six preachers belonging to different denominations, all representative men, drawn in the main from the immediate vicinity of the college, but coming in part from places somewhat remote from Cambridge. These gentlemen, whose theological opinions are very different, unite to conduct our chapel services, and for four years this united effort has been extraordinarily successful and instructive. The union of essentials, with the inevitable disregard of non-essential diversities, teaches a lesson of the utmost value to the thousands before whom this truly religious work goes on.

"These lessons in religious toleration which great universities can teach are the more precious because we already see firmly established in this country a large number of denominational institutions, and their number is likely to increase. . . . I believe that the segregation of the youth of the country in distinct denominational institutions would be undesirable for the denominations which should thus separate

their youth. . . . What is desirable, however, is that all the principal colleges and universities of the country should be conducted without denominational bias, and should be resorted to by young men of every religious faith represented among the American people.

"A university stands for intellectual and spiritual domination—for the forces of the mind and soul against the overwhelming load of material possessions, interests and activities which the modern world carries. This influence is most precious in a new and crude community like the United States, which is still engaged in subduing a wilderness to human uses. . . . Under these conditions material production is the chief interest of the people, and wealth rather than health seems to be the principal object of society. A university keeps alive philosophy, poetry and science, and maintains ideal standards. It stands for plain living against luxury, in a community in which luxurious habits are constantly increasing and

spreading. . . . In short a university exemplifies, through its teachers, Wordsworth's 'plain living and high thinking,' and in this respect its influence is of the greatest value in any large American community."

Many people who review the first two centuries of New England life interpret the New England character as harsh, prejudiced and narrow-minded. How can the view, expressed by Charles W. Eliot, be justified—the view that catholicity is a prime element in the ideal New England character? He answers that by showing, in this latter address, that Harvard had led in the process of shattering old restrictions. A common simile for narrow-mindedness is found in the term "hard-shelled." In the nest, the shell is quite inflexible; but it shelters, for a time, the developing life of the young bird. In other words, its function is to protect, by its rigidity, a growing life which will certainly shatter it. Puritanism in New England did have an aspect of rigidity;

but it maintained, from its early years, an institution of learning which was to represent the spirit which would shatter that rigidity. Dr. Eliot's survey of the influence of Harvard, in the life of New England, is highly illuminating. He says:

"Of all national institutions the university has almost always been the most liberal and progressive. This is the natural tendency, for man thinking—to use Emerson's phrase—is progressive; and youth, particularly speculative youth, is apt to be revolutionary. All poets and philosophers prophesy; their speculative thought far outruns the practical work of legislators, manufacturers, merchants and farmers. If we would learn what governmental and social problems the next generation is to be at work upon, we must study the fore-looking of poets, teachers, men of letters, and studious youths in the passing generation.

"Samuel Adams, taking his master's degree at Harvard University in 1743, maintained the

affirmative in a public discussion of the question whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved. It was thirty-two years later that the embattled farmers fired, at Concord Bridge, the shot heard round the world. Twenty-five years before the outbreak of the Civil War, William Ellery Channing stated and enforced all the ethical principles which underlay the whole long struggle against slavery. Longfellow, Lowell, Bryant and Whittier put into living verse the sentiments which, thrilling through millions of hearts after they wrote, supported the Northern States through four long years of desolating war. . . .

"In the Massachusetts of 1770 General Gage correctly described Harvard College as a 'hotbed of sedition.' When the detachment of troops which was to fortify Bunker Hill paraded on the little green opposite the college on the evening of June 16, 1775, it was the president of Harvard College—the patriot minister

Langdon—who stood on the doorstep of the house in which Oliver Wendell Holmes was afterward born, and invoked the divine blessing on the enterprise. . . . It is the teachers of the country who build the most enduring monuments to the country's heroes by telling their stories to the children they instruct.

"It is but natural, then, that universities should be always and everywhere patriotic. They seek ideals; and our country in the modern sense is one of the noblest of ideals, being no longer represented by an idealized person, as the king or queen, but being rather a personified ideal, free, strong and beautiful. Do you ask, Are all these aims of the higher education anywhere attained? Nowhere, as yet. But they surely will be as our republic grows in wealth, wisdom and true worth."

When, in his inaugural address, Charles W. Eliot spoke of the real personality of the Corporation of Harvard as being marked by catholicity, fidelity and enterprise, and then added:

"I have described the noble quintessence of the New England character—that character which has made us a free and enlightened people; that character which, please God, shall yet do a great work in the world for the lifting up of humanity" he was intent on his declaration of educational principles. As we study this statement we may well ask where this character was developed. The answer obviously is that New England character is indebted, in large measure, to Harvard College for this element of catholicity.

To understand this catholicity it is necessary to distinguish between the outward appearance of the institution and its inner spirit. The Puritans, in establishing their theocracy, built a rigid system of religion and statesmanship. They did, indeed, persecute Quakers and Baptists. They legislated harshly against Episcopalians. They would seem to be far from meriting the statement that "catholicity" was an element of their character. But in maintaining

their theocracy they were determined to have an educated ministry. And in so doing they established and maintained Harvard College which inevitably became a nursery of progressive ideas. Consequently, in the time of the division of New England Congregationalism a century ago, Harvard was a strong influence against Calvinism. Within Harvard itself Charles W. Eliot found much of the catholicity which he attributed to the New England character; and, through his long term in the presidency of Harvard, he developed that catholicity to its fullest expression.

When, at various times in his life, he declared that there should be no sectarian spirit in a university, there were those who assumed that he meant the university to be different, in this regard, from the churches. But to his mind Harvard was doing a great religious work; and was doing it in what he regarded as the truly Christian spirit. In his own religious faith he had the genuine catholicity which he praised in

the New England character, and which he desired the university to exemplify. To him it was not a dilution of religion to be broad-minded toward the many denominations. The essence of religion, he was sure, was possessed by all, namely the life of God in the spirits of men. To be a liberal in religion he would not define as accepting the views of a denomination but in being broad-minded toward all men who held the essentials of a religious life, a Christian faith, and whose religion was a force for righteousness. Therefore it seemed to him that Harvard, in nourishing catholicity, was promoting the most truly spiritual life.

Chapter Six

KINDRED MINDS

THE New England experiment in living has put great emphasis on the powers of human personality, on the essential worth of man. The revolutionary war intensified this faith by sweeping away the power of kings and asserting the sovereignty of the common people. The revolt against Calvinism, in New England, in the half-century following the Revolution, resulted in a vigorous assertion of the spiritual rights and powers of humanity. It was to be the work of Charles W. Eliot to take this passionate faith in the powers of human personality and give it great expression by applying it to education. Thus, with the dynamic of a religious conviction, he revolutionized American colleges and schools.

In this New England experiment in living, the state, the church and the school were three institutions in which was expressed this central conviction of the worth of human personality. Political action, religious life and educational processes all deal with human powers, and are means by which they are developed. The Revolution gave human life new freedom from political restrictions; the revolt against Calvinism brought new spiritual liberties; and the profound changes in education, during the past century, emancipated millions of human minds from paralyzing traditions.

Channing, Emerson, Theodore Parker and Charles W. Eliot were closely linked in the endeavor to clarify the thoughts of men regarding the essential things of religion. They helped men to distinguish between essentials and nonessentials; to discriminate between things major and minor. They applied greatly the principle that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

A review of a few events and dates will show the vital connections between Charles W. Eliot and other leaders in the movement for liberal religion and reveal why the major impulse in the work of the great educator was religion. When he was born (in 1834), William Ellery Channing was in the midst of his influential Boston ministry, in the Federal Street Church. Channing had been, since the preaching of the "Baltimore sermon" in 1819, the acknowledged leader of the liberal party. The Eliot family was profoundly religious; and Charles W. Eliot grew up in an intensely spiritual atmosphere. Religion was the highest interest in life and the source of his greatest enthusiasms. Ralph Waldo Emerson was born in 1803, the year that Channing began his Boston ministry, and was a near neighbor of the Eliots. The Emerson home was on Beacon Street, between the Eliot home and King's Chapel, where the Eliots went to church. The Emersons pastured their cow on Boston Common, and one of the

chores performed by Ralph as a boy was to drive the cow between the Common and the stable. Theodore Parker entered the Divinity School in Cambridge the same year that Charles W. Eliot was born.

It was at the ordination of Jared Sparks in Baltimore that Channing preached the famous sermon. In 1849 Jared Sparks became president of Harvard; and the same year Charles W. Eliot entered Harvard as a student. It was in 1838 that Ralph Waldo Emerson had delivered his great "Divinity School Address." Theodore Parker had begun his Boston ministry in 1837. Thus were the men and events of those years weaving a web of influence for the man who was to live for more than ninety years and transmit, by means of his great work for education, ideas which were then being shaped, on which his youthful mind was fed, and his abiding enthusiasms nourished.

The deep influence which the religious ideas of Channing and Emerson had on the mind of

Charles W. Eliot were fully acknowledged by him even after many years. He shows that his work for education was profoundly influenced by these prophets of spiritual faith. In 1903, in Boston, was celebrated the centennial of the beginning of Channing's Boston ministry and also the centennial of the birth of Emerson. These significant celebrations came within two weeks of each other and at each of them an address was made by Charles W. Eliot. This made opportunities for a review by him of their work and of their influence upon him.

In his address on Channing he said: "Channing and Brooks! Men very unlike in body and mind, but preachers of like tendency and influence from their common love of freedom and faith in mankind. This city has learned by rich experience that preaching becomes the most productive of all human works the moment the adequate preacher appears—a noble man with a noble message. Such was Channing.

"His public work was preceded and accompanied by a great personal achievement. All his life he grew in spirit, becoming always freer, broader, and more sympathetic. In forty years he worked his way out of moderate Calvinism without the Trinity, into such doctrines as these, 'The idea of God . . . is the idea of our own spiritual natures purified and enlarged to infinity.' 'The sense of duty is the greatest gift of God. The idea of right is the primary and highest revelation of God to the human mind; and all outward revelations are founded on and addressed to it.' There is 'but one object of cherished and enduring love in heaven or on earth, and that is moral goodness.' 'I do and I must reverence human nature. . . . I honor it for its struggles against oppression, for its growth and progress under the weight of so many chains and prejudices, for its achievements in science and art, and still more for its examples of heroic and saintly virtue. These are marks of a divine origin and

pledges of a celestial inheritance.' 'Perfection is man's proper and natural goal.'

"What an immense distance between these doctrines of Channing's maturity and the Calvinism of his youth! He was a meditative, reflecting man, who read much, but took selected thoughts of others into the very substance and fiber of his being, and made them his own. The foundation of his professional power and public influence was this great personal achievement, this attuning of his own soul to the noblest harmonies.

"Thousands of ministers and spiritually-minded laymen of many denominations have traveled, since Channing's death, the road he laid out, and so have been delivered from the inhuman doctrines of the fall of man, the wrath of God, vicarious atonement, everlasting hell for the majority, and the rescue of a predestined few. They should all join in giving heartfelt praise and thanks to Channing, who thought out clearly, and preached with fervid

reiteration, the doctrines which have delivered them from a painful bondage.

"Just how much Channing's published works have had to do with this quiet but fateful revolution no man can tell. The most eminent today of American Presbyterian divines preached an excellent sermon in the Harvard College Chapel one Sunday evening not many years ago, and asked me, as we walked away together, how I liked it. I replied, 'Very much; it was all straight out of Channing.' 'That is strange,' he said, 'for I have never read Channing.' It is great testimony to the pervasive quality of a prophet's teachings when they become within fifty years a component of the intellectual atmosphere of the new times. At a dinner of Harvard graduates I once complained that, although I heard in the College Chapel a great variety of preachers connected with many different denominations, the preaching was, after all, rather monotonous, because they all preached Channing. Phillips

Brooks spoke after me and said, 'The president is right in thinking our present preaching monotonous, and the reason he gives for this monotony is correct; we all do preach Channing.' "

Channing's fervor for humanity led him to interpret man's spiritual capacities, but also created in him an ardor for reforming human society. Charles W. Eliot said, in this address: "Channing's philanthropy was a legitimate outcome of his view of religion. For him, practical religion was character-building by the individual human being. But character-building in any large group or mass of human beings means social reform; therefore Channing was a preacher and active promoter of social regeneration in this world. He depicted the hideous evils and wrongs of intemperance, slavery and war. He advocated and supported every well-directed effort to improve public education, the administration of charity, and the treatment

of criminals, and to lift up the laboring classes. . . .

"These sentiments and actions grew straight out of his religious conceptions and were their legitimate fruit. All his social aspirations and hopes were rooted in his fundamental conception of the fatherhood of God and its corollary, the brotherhood of man. It was his lofty idea of the infinite worth of human nature and of the inherent greatness of the human soul, in contrast with the then prevailing doctrines of human vileness and impotency, which made him resent with such indignation the wrongs of slavery, intemperance and war, and urge with such ardor every effort to deliver men from poverty and ignorance, and to make them gentler and juster to one another."

In speaking of this faith in the infinite worth of man and the inherent greatness of the human soul, Charles W. Eliot was not only describing Channing's incentive in his work for reform, but was declaring his own radiant re-

ligious faith which he himself was applying to the great reform of methods in American education. Indeed, he proceeded immediately to declare Channing's and his own faith in education, as influenced by the ardent religious convictions which they both held. He said: "In no subject which he discussed does the close connection between Channing's theology and his philanthropy appear more distinctly than in education. He says in his remarks on education: 'There is nothing on earth so precious as the mind, soul, character of the child. . . . There should be no economy in education. Money should never be weighed against the soul of a child. It should be poured out like water for the child's intellectual and moral life.' It is more than two generations since these sentences were written, and still the average public expenditure on the education of a child in the United States is less than fifteen dollars a year. Eastern Massachusetts is the community in the whole world which gives most thought,

time and money to education, public and endowed. Whence came this social wisdom? From Protestantism, from Congregationalism, from the religious teachings of Channing and his disciples. Listen to this sentence: 'Benevolence is short-sighted indeed, and must blame itself for failure, if it does not see in education the chief interest of the human race.' "

This spiritual succession of influences, from the doctrines of Protestantism down to the "disciples" of Channing, was a succession of assertions of the divine worth of man; and among the "disciples" of Channing, who accomplished so much for education, driven by the religious impulse, the greatest was Charles W. Eliot. Here he declares his faith and reveals his highest incentives. Continuing his address on Channing, he said: "It is plain that many of Channing's anticipations and hopes have already been realized, that his influence on three generations of men has been profound and wholly beneficent, and that the world is going

his way, though with slow and halting steps. His life brightened to its close. In his last summer but one he wrote: 'This morning I plucked a globe of the dandelion—the seed-vessel—and was struck as never before with the silent, gentle manner in which Nature sows her seed. . . . I saw, too, how Nature sows her seed broadcast. . . . So we must send truth abroad, not forcing it on here and there a mind, and watching its progress anxiously, but trusting that it will light on a kindly soil, and yield fruit. So nature teaches.' May those who stand here one hundred years hence say—the twentieth century supplied more of kindly soil for Channing seed that the nineteenth."

Truly Channing's influence was greatly magnified and carried forward by the work of this great president of Harvard, who spoke with such ardor of the work of the prophet. The celebration of the centennial of Emerson's birth within a few days of this Channing cen-

tennial gave Charles W. Eliot another opportunity to trace the effect of religious impulses on educational work and he made full acknowledgment of his own indebtedness to Emerson and to Emerson's religious opinions. At this celebration of the centennial of Emerson's birth he said: "Emerson was not a logician or reasoner; and not a rhetorician in the common sense. He was a poet, who wrote chiefly in prose, but also in verse. He wrote: 'I am a poet in the sense of a perceiver and dear lover of the harmonies that are in the soul and in matter, and specially of the correspondences between these and those.' This husky poet had to get his living. . . . In 1834 he went to live in Concord, where his grandfather had been the minister at the time of the Revolution, and in 1835 he bought the house and grounds there which were his home for the rest of his days. . . . His progenitors on both sides were chiefly New England ministers. His formal education was received in the Boston Latin

School and Harvard College, and was therefore purely local.

"How narrow and provincial seems his experience of life! A little city, an isolated society, a country village! Yet through books, and through intercourse with intelligent persons, he was really 'set in a large place.' The proof of this largeness, and of the keenness of his mental and moral vision is that, in regard to some of the chief concerns of mankind, he was a seer and fore-seer. . . . Although a prophet and inspirer of reform, Emerson was not a reformer. . . . His visions were far-reaching, his doctrines often radical, and his exhortations fervid; but when it came to action, particularly to habitual action, he was surprisingly conservative. . . . He refused to conduct public prayer . . . but when he was an Overseer of Harvard College he twice voted to maintain the traditional policy of compelling all the students to attend morning prayers, in spite of the fact that a large majority of the Faculty ur-

gently advocated abandoning that policy. . . . The work of giving practical effect to his thought was left for other men to do.

"I take up now the prophetic teachings of Emerson with regard to education. In the first place, he saw, with a clearness to which very few people have yet attained, the fundamental necessity of the school as the best civilizing agency, next to steady labor, and the only sure means of permanent and progressive reform. He says outright: 'We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education. What we call our root-and-branch reforms, of slavery, war, gambling, intemperance, is only medicating the symptoms. We must begin higher up—namely in education.' . . . There are some signs that this doctrine has now at last entered the minds of so-called practical men.

"Since the Civil War a whole generation of educational administrators has been steadily at work developing what is called the elective system in the institutions of education which deal

with the ages above twelve. It has been a slow, step-by-step process, carried on against much active opposition and more sluggish obstruction. The system is a method of educational organization which recognizes the immense expansion of knowledge during the nineteenth century, and takes account of the needs and capacities of the individual child and youth. Now, Emerson laid down in plain terms the fundamental doctrines on which this elective system rests. He taught that the one prudence in life is concentration; the one evil, dissipation. He said: 'You must *elect* your work: you shall take what your brain can, and drop all the rest.' To this exhortation he added the educational reason for it—only by concentration can the youth arrive at the stage of doing something with his knowledge, or get beyond the stage of absorbing and arrive at the capacity for producing. As Emerson puts it, 'only so can that amount of vital force accumulate which can make the step from knowing to do-

ing.' The educational institutions of today have not yet fully appreciated this all-important step from knowing to doing. They are only beginning to perceive that, all along the course of education, the child and the youth should be doing something as well as learning something; should be stimulated and trained by achievement; should be constantly encouraged to take the step beyond seeing and memorizing to doing—the step, as Emerson says: 'out of a chalk circle of imbecility into fruitfulness.' Emerson carried this doctrine right on into mature life. He taught that Nature arms each man with some faculty, large or small, which enables him to do easily some feat impossible to any other, and thus makes him necessary to society; and that this faculty should determine the man's career.

"The advocates of the elective system have insisted that its results were advantageous for society as a whole, as well as for the individual. Emerson put this argument in a nut-shell at

least fifty years ago: 'Society can never prosper, but must always be bankrupt, until every man does that which he was created to do.' The colleges and universities have now answered in the affirmative Emerson's question, 'Is it not worth the ambition of every generous youth to train and arm his mind with all the resources of knowledge, of method, of grace, and of character to serve such a constituency?' "

This is a very clear acknowledgment, by Charles W. Eliot, of the prophetic work of Emerson (who settled in Concord the same year that Eliot was born) regarding education and especially of the elective system in education. With both these prophets, their sense of spiritual values was the source of their convictions regarding the education of the human mind. In this address by Charles W. Eliot he says: "In no field of thought was Emerson more prophetic, more truly a prophet of coming states of human opinion, than in religion. . . . He believed that revelation is natural and con-

tinuous, and that in all ages prophets are born. Those souls, out of time, proclaim truth which may be momentarily received with reverence, but is nevertheless quickly dragged down into some savage interpretation which by and by a new prophet will purge away. He believed that man is guided by the same power that guides beast and flower. 'The selfsame power that brought me here brought you,' he says to the beautiful rhodora. For him worship is the attitude of those 'who see that against all appearances the nature of things works for truth and right forever.' . . . He sees in every gleam of human virtue not only the presence of God, but some atom of his nature.

"As a preacher he had no tone of authority. A true nonconformist himself, he had no desire to impose his views on anybody. Religious truth, like all other truth, was to his thought an unrolling picture, not a deposit made once for all in some sacred vessel. When people who were sure they had drained the vessel, and as-

similated its contents, attacked him, he was irresponsive or impassive, and yielded to them no juicy thought; so they pronounced him dry or empty. Yet all of Emerson's religious teaching led straight to God—not to a withdrawn creator, or anthropomorphic judge or king, but to the all-informing, all-sustaining soul of the universe. It was a prophetic quality of Emerson's religious teaching that he sought to obliterate the distinction between secular and sacred. For him all things were sacred, just as the universe was religious.

"For Emerson inspiration meant not the rare conveyance of supernatural power to an individual, but the constant incoming into each man of the 'divine soul which inspires all men.' . . . Yet man is not an order of nature, but a stupendous antagonism, because he chooses and acts in his soul. 'So far as a man thinks, he is free.' It is interesting today after the long discussion of the doctrine of evolution, to see how the much earlier conceptions of Emerson match

the thoughts of the latest exponents of the philosophic results of evolution.

"In religion Emerson was only a nineteenth-century nonconformist instead of a fifteenth- or seventeenth-century one. It was a fundamental article in his creed that, although conformity is the virtue in most request, 'Whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist.' In the midst of increasing luxury, and of that easy-going, unbelieving conformity which is itself a form of luxury, Boston, the birthplace of Emerson, may well remember with honor the generations of nonconformists who made her, and created the intellectual and moral climate in which Emerson grew up. Inevitably, to conformists and to persons who still accept doctrines and opinions which he rejected, he seems presumptuous and consequential. In recent days we have even seen the word 'insolent' applied to this quietest and most retiring of seers. But have not all prophets and ethical teachers had something of this aspect to their conserva-

tive contemporaries? We hardly expect the messages of prophets to be welcome; they imply too much dissatisfaction with the present."

Drawing toward the conclusion of this address, Dr. Eliot spoke more personally of Emerson and of himself. He said: "My own work has been a contribution to the prosaic, concrete, work of building, brick by brick, the new walls of old American institutions of education. As a young man I found the writings of Emerson unattractive, and not seldom unintelligible. I was concerned with physical science, and with routine teaching and discipline; and Emerson's thinking seemed to me speculative and visionary. In regard to religious belief, I was brought up in the old-fashioned Unitarian conservatism of Boston, which was rudely shocked by Emerson's excursions beyond its well-fenced precincts. But when I had got at what proved to be my life-work for education, I discovered in Emerson's poems and essays all the fundamental motives and principles of my

own hourly struggle against educational routine and tradition, and against the prevailing notions of discipline for the young. Many of the sober, practical undertakings of today had been anticipated in all their principles by this solitary, shrewd, independent thinker, who, in an inconsecutive and almost ejaculatory way, wrought out many sentences and verses which will travel far down the generations.

"I was also interested in studying, in this example, the quality of prophets in general. We know a good deal about the intellectual ancestors and inspirers of Emerson, and we are sure that he drank deep at the springs of idealism and poetry. . . . Channing stirred the residuum which came down to him through his forbears from Luther, Calvin and Edwards. All these materials he transmuted and molded into lessons which have his own individual quality and stamp. . . . It is an indisputable fact that Emerson's thought has proved to be consonant with the most progressive and fruit-

ful thinking and acting of two generations since his working time. This fact, and the sweetness, fragrance and loftiness of his spirit, prophesy for him an enduring power in the hearts and lives of spiritually-minded men."

How clear it becomes, as we trace these sincere confessions, that Channing and Emerson had a profound influence upon the mind of Charles W. Eliot; and especially that religious convictions were the dynamic of his educational work! Truly here is a succession of prophets, doing emancipating work by their emphasis on the reality of divine inspirations in the minds and hearts of men.

Chapter Seven

SPRINGS OF ACTION

REARED among the people who revolted vigorously against New England Calvinism, and thoroughly trained in the religious convictions of their fellowship, Charles W. Eliot devoted his long life to the development of his own spiritual faith and its application to his work for education. The motives which dominated his life are to be found in his spiritual faith. In his practical work and in his philosophy of life, he judged human conduct not merely by its results, but by the motives which inspired it. He valued action, morally, very largely by the springs from which it flowed.

A very lucid and terse statement of his convictions regarding the religious source of the

most dynamic moral motives is found in an address which he made on the work of Benjamin Franklin. The two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Franklin was widely celebrated in 1906. On April 20th of that year, at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, Charles W. Eliot was the speaker. It was in that address that the analysis of Franklin's motives occurs. After giving an appreciative estimate of the early American philosopher and diplomat he says of him: "His philosophy is a guide of life, because it searches out virtues, and so provides the means of expelling vices. It may reasonably determine conduct. It did determine Franklin's conduct to a remarkable degree, and has had a prodigious influence for good on his countrymen and on civilized mankind. Nevertheless, it omits all consideration of the motive power which must impel to right conduct, as fire supplies the power which actuates the engine. That motive is pure unselfish love—love to God and love to man. 'Thou

shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself.' " Two words which he contrasts here, are key words: "His philosophy is a *guide* of life" and "That motive *power* is pure unselfish love." The difference emphasized is between *knowing* the road and being *impelled* to travel it.

Dr. Eliot had a great confidence in the capacity of men for idealistic action. He believed that love to God and man are motives not difficult to attain, but rather springing normally within the hearts of men who live wholesome, clean, upright lives. In *The Happy Life,* he said: "Domestic joys . . . make earthly life worth living. . . . The family affections and joys are the ultimate source of civilized man's idea of a loving God—an idea which is a deep root of happiness when it becomes an abiding conviction."

As he develops his thought of the deeper impulses of the normal life, he combats the doctrine of "total depravity" which, even in his

youth, he had learned to hold in abhorrence. He said: "In what relation is it for our satisfaction to stand in this world toward our fellow men? Shall we love or hate them, bless or curse them, help or hinder them? . . . Human beings are all about us. We and they are mutually dependent in ways so complex and intricate that no wisdom can unravel them. . . . How do reasonable men, under these circumstances, naturally and inevitably incline to act toward their fellow beings? There is but one common-sense, matter-of-fact answer—namely, They incline to serve and coöperate with them. That civilized society exists at all is a demonstration that this inclination, in the main, governs human relations. . . . If the doctrine of total depravity were anything but the invention of a morbid human imagination, the massing of people by hundreds of thousands would be too dangerous to be attempted." Thus he bases his belief, in the presence of active good will among men, not on a

theory that it *ought* to be so, but on the observation that it *is* so. Then he continues the expression of his practical idealism:

"Civilized society assumes that the great majority of men will combine to procure advantages, resist evils, defend rights, and remedy wrongs. Following this general and inevitable inclination, the individual finds that by serving others he best serves himself, because he conforms to the promptings of his own and their best nature. The most satisfactory thing in all this earthly life is to be able to serve our fellow beings—first, those who are bound to us by ties of love, then the wider circle of fellow townsmen, fellow countrymen, or fellow men. To be of service is a solid foundation for contentment in this world. For our present purpose, it does not matter where we *got* these ideas about our own better nature and its best satisfaction; it is enough that our generation, as a matter of fact, *has* these ideas and is ruled by them."

He has shown elsewhere that it was his own conviction that the religious impulses of love to God and love to man are the dynamic of the best life, effective even if not made a verbal profession of faith. But after declaring that he was not then discussing the origin of good will among men, but its presence and its implication, he goes on to express an idealistic faith in human conduct. He combats the theory that men may measure the amount of good that might result from two courses of conduct and judge between them on practical grounds, thus deciding which is the right and which the wrong course. The immediate drive of the impulse of good will, rather than the pragmatic test of consequences, supplied the ground of his idealism. He contrasted the conduct of men under certain circumstances, showing that the deed of one might bring more practical good, but yet be less idealistic than the other, and give less satisfaction to the doer. He put great emphasis on the inner life of the doer of the deed,

the sense of moral and spiritual satisfaction derived from idealistic conduct. In the infinite complications of human society it did not seem to him possible so to forecast the consequences as to judge moral excellence pragmatically. He wanted something much more immediate than this, something highly idealistic.

He continued his elucidation of his idealism in these words: "The *amount* of service is no measure of the satisfaction or happiness which he who renders the service derives from it. One man founds an academy or a hospital; another sends one boy to be educated at the academy, or one sick man to be treated at the hospital. The second is the smaller service, but may yield the greater satisfaction." It is to be observed that he is not arguing from the happiness produced in other people by a man's good deed, but the happiness produced in the doer of the deed: the joy which comes from the fulfillment of his own idealism. He then continued the contrast, in the course of which he

related a poignant incident of seafaring life. He said:

"Sir Samuel Romilly attacked the monstrous English laws which affixed the death penalty to a large number of petty offenses against property, like poaching, sheep-stealing, and pocket-picking. In the dawn of a February morning, when the wind was blowing a gale and the thermometer was below zero, Captain Smith of the Cuttyhunk lighthouse took three men off a wreck which the heavy sea was fast pounding to pieces on a reef close below the light. Sir Samuel Romilly's labors ultimately did an amount of good quite beyond computation; but he lived to see accomplished only a small part of the beneficent changes he had advocated. The chances are that Captain Smith got more satisfaction for the rest of his life out of that rescue, done in an hour, than Sir Samuel out of his years of labor for a much-needed reform in the English penal code.

"There was another person who took satis-

faction in that rescue ever after, and was entitled to. When day dawned on that wintry morning, Captain Smith's wife, who had been listening restlessly to the roar of the sea and the wind, could lie still no longer. She got up and looked out of the window. To her horror there was a small schooner on the reef, in plain sight, one mast fallen over the side, and three men lashed to the other mast. Her husband was still fast asleep. Must she rouse him? If she did, she knew he would go out there into that furious sea and freezing wind. If she waited only a little while, the men would be dead and it would be no use to go. Should she speak to him? She did."

Then comes the idealistic principle, derived from these contrasts: "Oh! it is not the *amount* of good done which measures the love or heroism which prompted the serviceable deed, or the happiness which the doer gets from it. It is the spirit of service which creates both the merit and the satisfaction." Such idealism

he derived from a really simple faith in the goodness of God and a confidence in the essential excellence of human nature. Philosophical difficulties about the nature of Deity, or ethical entanglements about the darker side of human life, he did not allow to disturb this serene faith. From it he derived his idealism and his chivalry. He adds:

"The very essence of heroism is that it takes adverse chances; so that full foreknowledge of the issue would subtract from the heroic quality. . . . It is not for our happiness to believe any proposition about the nature of men, the universe, or God, which is really at war with our fundamental instincts of honor or justice, or with our ideals of gentleness and love, no matter how these instincts and ideals have been implanted or arrived at. The man or woman who hopes to attain reflective happiness, as he works his strenuous way through the world, must bring all beliefs, old and new, to this critical test, and must reject, or refuse to enter-

tain, beliefs which do not stand the test. . . . We may be sure that cheerful beliefs about the unseen world, framed in full harmony with the beauty of the visible universe, and with the sweetness of domestic affections and joys, and held in company with kindred and friends, will illuminate the dark places on the pathway of earthly life and brighten all the road."

The darker side of life, so far from causing in his mind a tendency to atheism or agnosticism, seemed the very foundation for a chivalrous and rugged idealism. After making a comprehensive survey of the cruelties in nature and the miseries of human life, he says: "It would seem impossible to wring satisfaction and considerate happiness from such evils. Yet that is just what men of noble nature are constantly doing. They fight evil, and from the contest win content, even joy. Nobody has any right to find life uninteresting, or unrewarding, who sees within the sphere of his own activity a wrong which he can help to remedy, or

within himself an evil which he can hope to overcome. It should be observed that the inanimate creation does not lend itself, like the animate creation, to the theory that for every good in nature there is an equivalent evil, and for every beautiful thing an ugly offset. There is no direct offset to the constant splendor of the heavens by night or the transient glories of the sunset; no drawback on the beauty of perfect form and various hue in crystalline minerals, and no implicated evils counterbalancing the serenity of the mountains or the sublimity of the ocean. Even the lightning and the storm are wondrously beautiful."

Many people criticized his statements of ethical principles because they were founded on things so immediate and (as it seemed to these critics) so earthly. They could not accept his high estimate of man; and they did not believe that moral excellence in conduct is to be found in the spirit of service to humanity and the desire to make a better world. They felt that man

should be regarded as "prone to evil" and that it is necessary to go to the future life for the highest incentive to good conduct and the most powerful deterrent from evil conduct; that men should do good from the hope of heaven and refrain from evil from the fear of hell. These views he combated vigorously; and he identifies his own faith with the essence of Christianity which he believed was not rightly interpreted by his critics. He said: "Let me ask you to consider whether the rational conduct of life on the *this-world* principles here laid down would differ in any important respect from the right conduct of life on the principles of the Christian gospels. It does not seem to me that it would." It seemed to him that he was setting forth for his own times and generation, the very heart of the religion of Jesus Christ.

How greatly he differed, however, from the traditional views of Christianity, he was at much labor to assert. When one heard him speak on these things, or perused the printed

pages bearing his statements of this contrast, it was easy to see that, for the background of his personal religion, he was still conscious of that ominous shadow of the Calvinism against which he revolted in his youth. The ardor of that youthful revolt gave vigor to some of his old-age utterances. The Calvinism of a century ago seemed to him a peculiarly abhorrent form of religion. Its sharp division of men into the "elect" and the "nonelect" seemed to him grossly artificial. Its pictures of heaven and hell, with a contrast as great as human imagination could possibly conceive, were to him impossible descriptions of the future states of human beings.

The promise of heaven as a reward of the faithful, the home of the elect, and the threat of hell to deter men from evil and make them dread being among the nonelect, were motives which he regarded as positively immoral. Indeed, he revolted so completely from the system of ethics based on the hope of heaven and

the fear of hell that he rarely mentions the future life, and says little of the immortality of the soul. He was determined that his own ethics should be delivered completely from these motives, for he felt that they had long stood in the way of the application of religious impulses to the betterment of this world. He wanted religion to be dynamic in exalting the essential good of human character and in curing the evils of this present world. It seemed to him a colossal wrong for men, in the name of religion, to bid human beings be patient under injustice and evil conditions, and look to a future life as the reward of such patience. His chivalrous faith made him want to arouse men who, as crusaders, would right these wrongs, remedy these evils, and make the present world more heavenly. To him, the "Kingdom of God" was not a promise for another world, but an attainable goal for this world. And he believed that, in this view, he was rightly interpreting the Christian religion.

He believed that wholesome spiritual development would be greatly impaired, or even completely wrecked, by urging men to choose their conduct from fear of hell or hope of heaven. In an address on "Progressive Liberalism" he said: "Now faith in penalty, as a preventive of wrong-doing and evil, has rapidly declined during the nineteenth century; and this is equally true of penalty in this world and of penalty in the next. . . . Barbarous conceptions of punishment after death have been everywhere mitigated or abandoned. The new sociology, based on the Gospel doctrine of love to God and love to man, seeks to improve environment, the rectification of vice-breeding evils and wrongs, and the actual realization of the ideal, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

"Sociology rejects also a motive which systematic theology has made much of for centuries—the motive of personal salvation, which is essentially a selfish motive, whether it re-

lates to this world or to the next. Certainly, it is no better for eternity than it is for these short earthly lives of ours. The motive power of personal reformation and good conduct, and the source of happiness, must always be found in love of others and desire to serve them, self-forgetfulness and disinterestedness being indispensable conditions of personal worth and of well-grounded joy."

Sometimes he made his own fervor for humanity more vivid by placing it against the background of the Calvinism which, in his youth, had been the dark shadow over normal human joy. He had opportunity for making this contrast a few months after the beginning of the Great War. Late in December, 1914, he went to Philadelphia to speak, at a mass-meeting, on "The Crying Need of a Renewed Christianity." Multitudes of people were bewildered by the problem of why, in an era of advanced civilization, Christian nations were at war with one another, and why Christian

churches were sending their men into the war to kill one another. In this address he faced that problem and said: "Who could imagine that the chief teachings of the founder of the religion which these nations and churches profess were 'Love God and thy neighbor, and treat all men as brothers.' Clearly, neither nations nor churches have ever been truly Christian." He declared his sympathy with the proposition "for judging every religion by the amount of genuine twentieth-century ethics which find a place in it," and a Christian church which "no one enters in hope of reward or out of fear of punishment."

He brought an indictment against the nations which had made the war, and against "the great churches of Christendom" which had not prevented the war; and he declared that these churches were not even proving themselves the effective agents for the relief of human suffering caused by the war. He said: "The War has demonstrated that, while man-

kind discovered and is using the marvelous new powers of light, heat, and electricity for purposes of immense beneficence, governments called Christian are capable of using these same powers, acquired for beneficent ends, in a manner which spreads death, desolation, and sorrow among 300,000,000 of the human race, availing themselves for these horrible purposes of some of the finest moral qualities which inhere in the helpless multitudes. Moreover, during fifty years past, Christian nations in Europe have given their best efforts to devising and storing up the means of making war in the most destructive manner and on an unprecedented scale. The present holocaust has been planned deliberately with the utmost intelligence and foresight, and is being carried on with terrible efficiency by the nation which is chiefly responsible for it—a Christian nation like all the other nations involved except Turkey and Japan. This is the immense moral catastrophe of these times. It has taken place in

spite of much progress made within a hundred years past in many parts of the world in popular education, humane literature and public liberty, and of a widespread, sympathetic desire on the part of the more fortunate men and women to serve and help the less fortunate.

"In nineteen hundred years the Christian institutions of religion—in other words, the highly-organized churches of Christendom—have not only been unable to accomplish anything effectual towards preventing the frequent occurrence of war, but have often incited to war each its own nation or its own race, and have made hotter the patriotic fires which blaze up in war-time. Every ruler concerned with the present war calls upon God to give victory to his arms; every one of them believes, as firmly as David or Joshua or Saladin did, that the Lord is on his side; and each people is putting up eager prayers to its national God which cannot be granted without denying the equally fervent prayers which go up from its adver-

saries, and is giving thanks for victories for its side which are cruel defeats for the other.

"The Christian churches are helpless to prevent this war or even to mitigate its horrors. The effective organizations for such pitifully small relief as can be given are for the most part not religious, but secular. The care of the wounded falls on men and women trained in natural and physical science and possessing manual skill and the spirit of service. The effective works of mercy are performed, not chiefly by representatives of the churches or by religious partisans and zealots, but by men and women who understand how to get food to the starving, to bring first aid to the wounded and carry them quickly to hospitals, to prevent fevers and infections, to purify water supplies, and to treat lock-jaw, gangrene, and frostbite. The effective advocates of peace and good will among men in this horrible convulsion, produced by a nation which believes in discipline, ruthless force, and the domination of the strong

over the weak, are not the priests and ministers of traditional Christianity, or the performers of rites and ceremonies, but the teachers of public liberty as the indispensable source of the highest efficiency in individual or nation, and of public justice and righteousness developed under free governmental institutions which train men to self-control in freedom under law."

In this address in Philadelphia he cited the failure of the Christian churches to prevent war; and on that he based an argument for "the crying need of a renewed Christianity." He did not believe that Christianity had failed; but he argued for a renewed effort to bring pure Christianity into the life of the nations of the civilized world, hoping thus to save civilization itself from utter destruction. And yet he was using the war as an illustration of a larger principle. He was not arguing primarily for the need of a way to end war, but for the promoting of the whole gigantic enterprise of

civilizing the human race. The defects of the existing types of "Christianity" were revealed, he believed, by the war, but they were greater than even the evils of the war itself. He said: "It is a fitting time in which to seek the reasons for the inefficiency of the great Christian churches in promoting the moral and physical welfare of mankind on this earth, whatever they may claim to do in respect to human happiness in another." That incidental phrase about happiness in another world is illuminating. He believed that the hope of heaven, instead of being used to give courage to fainting hearts, had had an enormous influence in diverting human effort into wrong channels, in leading religious men from their duty of bringing heavenly conditions into the earth. He believed that men had allowed themselves to become reconciled to the continuance of evil conditions on earth when they ought to have devoted themselves valiantly to the task of abolishing those conditions. He said: "The

churches have not relied on the essential dignity of human nature and the human love of freedom for the uplifting of the race." And again: "Not believing in liberty, the churches have habitually supported autocratic government, and that climax of autocracy, military discipline, for purposes of conquest."

How, then, did he account for the prevailing forms of Christianity falling so far short of the real religion of Jesus Christ, with its teaching of God's fatherhood and human brotherhood, and universal good will among men? Partly by an inheritance, from primitive religious teaching, of a lower ethical standard than the religion of Jesus, and partly by tributary streams, from pagan sources, flowing into historic Christianity.

He said, in that address: "The creeds of the evangelical churches are, as a rule, built on the fall of man as described in the story of the Garden of Eden, the absolute correctness or trustworthiness of the story itself being as-

sumed on the ground that its author was inspired by God himself. The conduct attributed to God in that story would be wholly unworthy of any man whose standards of conduct accorded with the average sentiments about right and wrong of civilized people today. God in that story is unjust, mean, and cruel; yet the story, taken as a narrative of facts, has been made the foundation of the official creeds of all the great Christian churches."

He believed that historic Christianity had fallen into a serious error in taking all parts of the Bible as equally true and authoritative. He accounted for the presence of the doctrine of the atonement in Christian creeds as a thing derived from the barbaric customs of human sacrifices, and animal sacrifices, cited in the Old Testament and thus carried over into Christian faith. He had known, in the Calvinism with which he was familiar in his youth, a theory of the atonement which declared that the penalty of the sins of many was deliberately

put upon an innocent being. Of this theory he says: "No family, no school, and no court would venture to punish the innocent, when the guilty were known, in order that the guilty might escape punishment. Any human father would be outraged by the suggestion that he had ever dealt or could so deal with his children; and yet every member of the great Christian churches is supposed to believe that God deals in that way with the human race; and that the victim offered up for the redemption of a portion of the human race was, in a peculiar sense, the son of God. How incredible it is, that the religious institutions and doctrines, which resulted from the perversions of the real teachings of Jesus by the pagan world, should have been so completely and fundamentally inconsistent with the ethics of those teachings! Before the Christian churches can be expected to be efficient in the promotion of human welfare, and particularly in the bringing of peace on earth, they must purge themselves of such

doctrines as these. It is not enough to say in defense of the churches that many church members in good standing no longer believe these shocking doctrines; they should be eliminated from the published standards and confessions of the churches."

Not only does he thus account for unethical elements in the creeds inherited by modern Christian churches, but he believed that Christianity had adopted too much paganism from the nations through which it had moved. He said: "Institutional Christianity departed from the teachings of the founder of the religion, and copied in its structure the authoritative and hierarchical arrangements, and in its doctrine the materialism of the Roman world. . . . The Protestant Reformation made a serious breach in the Roman Church, and brought in some new liberty—civil as well as religious—but Protestantism remained a highly authoritative religion; for within well-organized Protestant denominations the authority of the in-

spired Bible replaced, for the common people, the authority of the Roman hierarchy." Thus, he believed, the unethical elements of primitive religions were not only transmitted into modern Christianity, but became authoritative through the doctrine of an inerrant Bible, equally true in all its parts. He was convinced that Calvin's interpretation of the Bible had had an enormous influence in shaping the creeds of the greatest Protestant denominations.

In this address in Philadelphia is a reference to one picturesque endeavor to establish the principle of freedom in religion. The speaker said: "Not till the Pilgrims set up in Plymouth their Free Church in their Free State, did the Christian world contain a fairly successful example of instituted civil and religious liberty. The Pilgrim Church and State set up standards of which America, at least, has never lost sight; but within seventy-five years many of the Pilgrims' liberties were lost or impaired; so that

the compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower,* and John Robinson's doctrine that more light and truth were still to break forth from God's Word, became little more than a precious and fragrant memory."

That gleam in the darkness, the principle of freedom manifested in the experiment at Plymouth, seemed to Charles W. Eliot to be a promise of a "renewed Christianity." He believed that in the human heart, described by Calvinism as desperately wicked, could be found the impulse and the power to establish genuine Christianity in the earth, a faith magnificently ethical and with the promise of spiritual freedom for mankind. He said: "The established and conventional churches manifest little power to promote either love to God or love to the neighbor. Is this ineffective condition the final issue of the teachings of Jesus Christ?" Then he cited the examples of multitudes of people who manifested the vital principles of the Christian religion, though they

had not derived those principles from the established and historic churches. He said:

"Millions of men are exhibiting extraordinary self-sacrifice and devotion, natural fruits of the spirit of Jesus Christ; but most of these heroes have not consciously derived these lofty sentiments from the Christian churches, but are moved by the common loves of family, home and country. . . . Educated men, as a rule, in both Europe and America, have ceased to be influenced in their opinions or their actions by the dogmas of the churches, by the rewards churches offer, or by the punishments they threaten. . . . The fundamental trouble is that the Christian churches, as instituted and organized, have relied for centuries on *imposed* beliefs, rites, sacraments, symbols and observances. Since the later years of the eighteenth century, it has become more and more difficult to *impose* beliefs on educated people. . . . They have also come to prefer for themselves, and their families, liberty, in-

dependence and public order founded on agreed-upon law, to obedience, submission and order founded on discipline administered to the many by the few. With these new tendencies of the human spirit the great Christian churches are not in full accord."

Approaching the conclusion of his argument, he said: "The consolations and hopes which the Christian churches have heretofore imparted to suffering human beings are today far less efficacious than they were in the first eighteen centuries. Neither the heaven nor the hell of the Christian churches appeals to the modern man as it formerly did to his predecessors. . . . The religious state of Christendom today is therefore in need of a genuine revival. Mankind needs to worship, needs incitements to love, reverence, and duty, and a happy spiritual conception of the universe. Without these helps Man cannot possibly be happy in his family, his labor, or his social order. Without these conceptions of the finite and the infinite

values, Man cannot rise in his nature or his life from bad to good, and from good to better. No single personality born in Christendom—and no class of persons—can reach his best without accepting as his guides in life the fundamental teachings of Jesus Christ—*love God and the neighbor,* have compassion on the wronged and the desolate, seek the truth that frees, and worship God in spirit and in truth. To live in this way, it is not necessary to accept any of the dogmas of the great churches, or any part of their symbolism or ritualism. Indeed, much of their symbolism, ritualism, dogmatism and ecclesiasticism is inconsistent with essential obedience to the precepts of Jesus Christ."

In describing the renewed Christianity which he ardently desired, he said further: "It is a Christianity which abandons the errors and the unjust, cruel conceptions which the centuries have piled up on the simple teachings of Jesus. It is a Christianity which sympathizes with and supports the aspirations of mankind

for freedom—freedom in thought, speech and action—and completely abandons authoritative ecclesiasticism and governmental despotism. . . . Do you ask if there exist in the world any exemplars of this sort of Christianity? Fortunately for the future of the world, there are to be found in nearly every Christian communion individuals who illustrate in their personal lives the purity and power of the simple religion taught by Jesus Christ. Many of these persons are quite unconscious of the embarrassments which the creeds, rituals, dogmas and discipline of their respective churches would inflict on their candid minds, if they realized, or apprehended in clear and logical statements, the meaning of the traditional doctrines and rites of their churches. Finding themselves practically free to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God, they remain in the churches into which they were born, held there by family ties, sweet associations, or conservative sentiment, and inatten-

tive to the inconsistencies between their life of the spirit and the historical doctrines of the churches to which they belong. They are all exemplars of the renewed Christianity of which there is such crying need; and many of them are active promoters of that renewal."

The passion for justice, for freedom and for an exalted ethical standard of conduct, which moved the heart of Charles W. Eliot, is well exemplified in his vigorous utterances in which he places his own faith against the dark background of Calvinism or any phase of religion which he wished to combat. As he believed that the elective system in education gave opportunity for the development of the strongest personalities, so he believed that, really emancipated, the spirit of the human race reveals noble impulses and would respond to the appeal which Jesus Christ gave to men: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself.' He said: "After

all, true Christianity is not a body of doctrines, nor an official organization to direct and control men's minds and wills. It is a way of life."

Chapter Eight

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

IT was the firm and settled conviction of Charles W. Eliot that Christianity could be restored to the simplicity of its first years, by a new emphasis on the major teachings of Jesus. Indeed, he believed that he had seen, in his own lifetime, a great deal of progress toward that restoration. He accepted, as the foundation of his own faith, what Jesus declared to be the greatest commandments: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself.' He said, in an address made in 1913: "The past fifty years have witnessed more progress toward the realization of the brotherhood of man than all the preceding centuries of the Christian era."

Sometimes he assumed the rôle of a prophet,

in the sense that he made predictions, without always taking up the other phase, so often characteristic of a prophet's work, that of an ardent advocacy of the things his heart desires and his faith foresees. More than once he declared that he saw forces at work which were producing not a new form of religion or a new type of Christianity, but the simple majestic religion of Jesus, freed from the foreign accretions of many centuries. Of his various public utterances on religion, the one which caused the greatest discussion was a prophecy, based on his own close observations of religious tendencies extending over many years.

Sometimes, in the course of history, circumstances seem to conspire to produce, as nearly as possible, the same setting for dramatic events, far separated by years. Such a repetition of circumstances gives the background for two addresses, of great significance, on religion. At the Divinity School in Cambridge, in mid-July in 1838, Ralph Waldo Emerson made his

famous "Divinity School Address." It aroused violent differences of opinion, ranging from ardent enthusiasm to bitter denunciation. It was hailed as an utterance of the eternal truth and condemned as an iconoclastic attack on all that is most sacred.

Seventy-one years went by, and again it was July. The Harvard Summer School of Theology was in session. Charles W. Eliot made his famous address on "The Religion of the Future." Again the subject was the essentials of the Christian religion—with the prediction that it would be restored to what the speaker believed to be its pure and original form. Again there were violent differences of opinion over whether the address was a constructive prediction or an iconoclastic attack on holy things.

Though some of the circumstances of the two addresses were similar, there were great differences. The first was delivered in 1838, the other in 1909. Between the two dates a great chasm had opened in the world of thinking

men. Modern exact science had been born, and had created a new world. The conceptions of the reign of law and the evolution of life had modified profoundly the spiritual outlook in the new world in which modern men were living.

Dr. Eliot's address attracted a great deal of attention. It was commented on by editors and ministers and other men far and wide. Much of the comment was adverse, and showed a lack of knowledge of the contents of the address and a lack of appreciation of the spirit of it. Like a flying rumor, the word went out that Dr. Eliot had "started a new religion." On the other hand, there were many men, of various Christian denominations, and men outside of the churches, who expressed appreciation of the utterance, and acknowledged its wisdom.

If any religious man is asked, "What will be the religion of the future?" he may describe his own; for, believing in it, he may hope and believe that it will some time prevail. But Dr.

Eliot was not doing this, was not merely stating his own faith. He had had unusual opportunity to know the faith of many educated men, of many leaders of religious thought. Not only was it his habit to attend services faithfully in his own church, but he heard many of the most notable preachers of America when they came to the Harvard College Chapel. Also in his extensive travels he had opportunity to know the views of many religious leaders.

His mind was peculiarly keen in perceiving major tendencies in current thought and distinguishing between them and merely passing incidents. This address was given just sixty years after he had entered Harvard as a student. How many great changes in sixty years! After very long observation, very wide observation, and an exceptional knowledge of men, he put into this address a prediction of the future of the religion of America. By observing the flow of a river a man may discern its direction. His work of description differs greatly from the

labor of the man who, digging artificial channels, seeks to determine the direction of the flow of the waters. Thus the speaker was describing what he believed to be tendencies in religion, and was not seeking to change the flow of events.

And yet, in making the address, he reveals a vigorous personal faith and a great hopefulness about the future. He perceives defects in the popular theologies, but believes these defects will, in the course of long years, pass away. He sees the beginnings of hopeful movements and expresses confidence that they will become dominant. He reviews the last half of the nineteenth century and relates his vigorous faith to the new changing world of the opening years of the twentieth century.

After sketching the lectures given in the Summer School of Theology, he said: "The general impression you have received from this comprehensive survey must surely be that religion is not a fixed but fluent thing. It is, there-

fore, wholly natural and to be expected that the conceptions of religion prevalent among educated people should change from century to century. Modern comparative studies in religion and in the history of religions demonstrate that such has been the case in times past. Now the nineteenth century immeasurably surpassed all preceding centuries in the increase of knowledge and in the spread of scientific inquiry and of the passion for truth-seeking. Hence the changes in religious beliefs and practices, and in the relations of churches to human society as a whole, were much deeper and more extensive in that century than ever before in the history of the world."

Again he referred to the period of his own observations which bridged the chasm of thought of the nineteenth century, the period before and the period after, the coming of modern exact science and the doctrine of evolution. He said: "My point of view is that of an American layman, whose observing and thinking life

has covered the extraordinary period since *The Voyage of the Beagle* was published, anæsthesia and the telegraph came into use, Herbert Spencer issued his first series of papers on evolution, Kuenen, Robertson Smith, and Wellhausen developed and vindicated Biblical criticism, John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* appeared, and the United States by going to war with Mexico set in operation the forces which abolished slavery on the American continent—the period within which mechanical power came to be widely distributed through the explosive engine and the applications of electricity, and all the great fundamental industries of civilized mankind were reconstructed."

Very briefly he dealt with external authority in religion before proceeding to the doctrines of God and the powers of the human soul. He said: "The Christian churches, Roman, Greek and Protestant, have heretofore relied mainly upon the principle of authority, the

Reformation having substituted for an authoritative church an authoritative Book; but it is evident that the authority both of the most authoritative churches and of the Bible as a verbally inspired guide is already greatly impaired, and that the tendency towards liberty is progressive, and among educated men irresistible."

The contrast between the Calvinistic view of the sovereignty of God, and the view presented in this address of the immanence of God is very impressive. The view of the great educator was thus expressed: "The new thought of God will be its most characteristic element. This ideal will comprehend the Jewish Jehovah, the Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy, and the biological conception of a Vital Force. The Infinite Spirit pervades the universe, just as the spirit of a man pervades his body, and acts consciously or unconsciously, in every atom of it. The twentieth cen-

tury will accept literally and implicitly St. Paul's statement, 'In Him we live, and move, and have our being,' and God is that vital atmosphere, or incessant inspiration. The new religion is therefore thoroughly monotheistic, its God being the one infinite force. But this one God is not withdrawn or removed, but indwelling, and especially dwelling in every living creature. God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him and the least particle of His creation. In His moral attributes He is, for every man, the multiplication to infinity of all the noblest, tenderest and most potent qualities which that man has ever seen or imagined in a human being.

"In this sense every man makes his own picture of God. Every age, barbarous or civilized, happy or unhappy, improving or degenerating, frames its own conception of God within the limits of its own experiences and imaginings. In this sense, too, a humane religion has to

wait for a humane generation. The central thought of the new religion will, therefore, be a humane and worthy idea of God, thoroughly consistent with the nineteenth-century revelations concerning man and nature, and with all the tenderest and loveliest teachings which have come down to us from the past.

"The scientific doctrine of one omnipresent, eternal Energy, informing and inspiring the whole creation at every instant of time, and throughout the infinite spaces, is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness, and Satan against Christ.

"The doctrine of God's immanence is also inconsistent with the conception that He once set the universe going, and then withdrew, leaving the universe to be operated under physical laws, which were His vice-gerents or substitutes. If God is thoroughly immanent in the

entire creation, there can be no 'secondary causes,' in either the material or the spiritual universe. The new religion rejects absolutely the conception that man is an alien in the world, or that God is alienated from the world. It rejects also the entire conception of man as a fallen being, hopelessly wicked, and tending downward by nature; and it makes this emphatic rejection of long-accepted beliefs because it finds them inconsistent with a humane, civilized, or worthy idea of God."

Consistent with the view of the immanence of God is the view he expressed of the dignity of the human soul, and the presence of God in the inner life of man. He said: "If, now, man discovers God through self-consciousness, or, in other words, if it is the human soul through which God is revealed, the race has come to the knowledge of God through knowledge of itself; and the best knowledge of God comes through knowledge of the best of the race.

"Men have always attributed to man a spirit

distinct from his body, though immanent in it. No one of us is willing to identify himself with his body; but on the contrary, everyone now believes, and all men have believed, that there is in a man an animating, ruling, characteristic essence, or spirit, which is himself. This spirit, dull or bright, petty or grand, pure or foul, looks out of the eyes, sounds in the voice, and appears in the bearing and manners of each individual. It is something just as real as the body, and more characteristic. To every influential person it gives far the greater part of his power. It is what we call the personality. This spirit, or soul, is the most effective part of every human being, and is recognized as such, and always has been.

"It can use a fine body more effectively than it can a poor body, but it can do wonders through an inadequate body. In the crisis of a losing battle, it is a human soul that rallies the flying troops. It looks out of flashing eyes and speaks in ringing tones, but its appeal is to

other souls, and not to other bodies. In the midst of terrible natural catastrophes—earthquakes, storms, conflagrations, volcanic eruptions—when men's best works are being destroyed and thousands of lives are ceasing suddenly and horribly, it is not a few especially good human bodies which steady the survivors, maintain order, and organize the forces of rescue and relief; it is a few superior souls.

"The leading men and women in any society, savage or civilized, are the strongest personalities—the personality being primarily spiritual and only secondarily bodily. Recognizing to the full these simple and obvious facts, the future religion will pay homage to all righteous and loving persons who in the past have exemplified, and made intelligible to their contemporaries, intrinsic goodness and effluent good will. It will be an all-saints religion.

"It will treasure up all tales of human excellence and virtue. It will reverence the discov-

erers, teachers, martyrs, and apostles of liberty, purity and righteousness. It will respect and honor all strong and lovely human beings—seeing in them, in finite measure, qualities similar to those which they adore in God. Recognizing in every great and lovely human person an individual will-power which is the essence of the personality, it will naturally and inevitably attribute to God a similar individual will-power, the essence of his infinite personality. In this simple and natural faith there will be no place for metaphysical complexities or magical rites, much less for obscure dogmas, the result of compromises in turbulent conventions.

"It is anthropomorphic; but what else can a human view of God's personality be? The finite can study and describe the infinite only through analogy, parallelism and simile; but that is a good way. The new religion will animate and guide ordinary men and women who are putting into practice religious conceptions

which result directly from their own observations and precious experience of tenderness, sympathy, trust and solemn joy. It will be most welcome to the men and women who cherish and exhibit incessant, all-comprehending good will. These are the 'good' people. These are the only genuinely civilized persons."

The doctrine of the immanence of God does not, in and of itself, solve the problem of evil; rather does it make that problem more poignant. From the beginnings of orderly human thinking, in remote centuries, the human mind has been baffled by that problem. No real logical solution has ever been found for it, either in religion or in philosophy. There have been Calvinists whose view of God was frightful because they believed that flood and fire and pestilence and poison and every other thing, causing pain and death to men, were expressions of the nature of God, who, they thought, was determined to keep men in humility and fear; and who, they could believe, would torment

many human souls through an endless eternity.

The forms of faith that attribute kindness to God and the presence of evil to the work of a devil do not offer a rational solution of this age-long problem. A partial answer is found in the view that evil is transitory and good is permanent. Another partial answer is found in the view that the race needs, for its discipline, the fight against evil. Another view places God outside of the world and attributes to him absolute goodness; and accounts for evil as inherent in the material world which is inferior to God.

Though philosophy and religion still leave us in the presence of a great unsolved mystery, they can give us a courageous plan of action. If a man has a majestic faith in the immanence of God, and a great confidence in the essential capacity of human personality, what would be a consistent view of the problem of evil? Obviously it would be to regard the sickness and suffering of humanity as things to be mastered

by the summoning of all the wisdom and patience and skill and devotion of which human nature is capable. In his address on "The Religion of the Future" Dr. Eliot expresses, in more than one passage, this radiant courage. He says:

"The religion of the future will not be gloomy, ascetic, or maledictory. It will not deal chiefly with sorrow and death, but with joy and life. It will not care so much to account for the evil and the ugly in the world as to interpret the good and the beautiful. It will believe in no malignant powers—neither in Satan nor in witches, neither in the evil eye nor in malign suggestion. When its disciple encounters a wrong or evil in the world, his impulse will be to search out its origin, source, or cause, that he may attack it at its starting-point. He may not speculate on the origin of evil in general, but will surely try to discover the best way to eradicate the particular evil or wrong he has recognized. . . .

"The new religion will not attempt to reconcile men and women to present ills by promises of future blessedness, either for themselves or for others. Such promises have done infinite mischief in the world, by inducing men to be patient under sufferings or deprivations against which they should have struggled incessantly. The advent of a just freedom for the mass of mankind has been delayed for centuries by just this effect of compensatory promises issued by churches. The religion of the future will approach the whole subject of evil from another side, that of resistance and prevention. . . .

"When dwellers in a slum suffer the familiar evils caused by overcrowding, impure food, and cheerless labor, the modern true believers contend against the sources of such misery by providing public baths, playgrounds, wider and cleaner streets, better dwellings, and more effective schools—that is, they attack the *sources* of physical and moral evil. The new

religion cannot supply the old sort of consolation; but it can diminish the need of consolation, or reduce the number of occasions for consolation.

"Such a religion has no tendency to diminish the force, in this world or any other, of the best human imaginings concerning the nature of the Infinite Spirit immanent in the universe. It urges its disciples to believe that as the best and happiest man is he who best loves and serves, so the Soul of the universe finds its perfect bliss and efficiency in supreme and universal love and service. Trust in this supreme rule is genuine consolation and support under many human trials and sufferings."

Equally significant are his beliefs regarding the unification of religious faiths. In the course of his great life-work, Dr. Eliot saw the remarkable process of many minds coming into agreement in educational theories and methods, even upon the new and revolutionary principles which he had enunciated. He uttered, in

his later years, the conviction that Christian unity might be attained by the flowing of many religious impulses into one major stream of purpose. He looked not for outer uniformity, but for a new creative spirit which would welcome variety but bring vitality in matters of faith and work.

In what he said and wrote on this subject his attitude was not primarily that of one who offers a program and asks men to accept it, but rather that of an observer who detects the tendencies of the times and predicts their outcome, even though the fulfillment of the prediction is frankly recognized as a thing of the remote future. Yet he rejoiced in the presence of a new spirit of unity among the many sects; and he welcomed the beginnings of the achievements of that spirit.

He believed that many of the sects are separated only by minor details, details often inherited from a remote past. It seemed to him inevitable that these dividing walls should

crumble and disappear. In an address on "The Road to Unity among the Christian Churches," he said:

"To the United States the world is indebted for the demonstration that, on the principle of federation, a strong, stable, and just government can be constructed, capable of withstanding all the shocks and chances of war and peace, of adversity and prosperity, through four generations of men, and of engaging the loyalty and affections of all its citizens. The same principle applied to the divided Christian churches will produce analogous good results; but, as in a group of federated states, federation will not be fusion. . . . If the divided Churches should decide not to dwell on their theoretical differences, but to emphasize their agreements in essentials, they would find the general temper of society favorable to every effort on their part to unite for the worship of God and the service of man. Increasing democ-

racy in governments and industries will approve such a policy."

From the beauties of natural life and the simple workings of natural laws, he rationalized something of his philosophy of unity. The universal love of nature, and the interpretations of nature by science, also seemed to Dr. Eliot to link themselves harmoniously with a very simple wholesome faith in God and the spirit of helpfulness to humanity. In *The Happy Life* he said: "Our century is distinguished by an ardent return of civilized man to that love of nature from which books and urban life had temporarily diverted him. The poetry and the science of our times alike foster this love, and add to the delights which come of the soaring imagination and the far-seeing reason. In many of our mental moods the contemplation of nature brings peace and joy. Her patient ways shame hasty little man; her vastnesses calm and elevate his troubled mind; her terrors fill him with awe, her inexplicable and in-

finite beauties with delight. Her equal care for the least things and the greatest corrects his scale of values. He cannot but believe that the vast material frame of things is informed and directed by an infinite Intelligence and Will, just as his little animal body is informed by his own conscious mind and will.

"Here we are living on a little islet of sense and fact in the midst of a boundless ocean of the unknown and mysterious. From year to year and century to century the islet expands as new districts are successively lifted from out the encompassing sea of ignorance, but it still remains encircled by this prodigious sea. In this state of things every inquisitive truth-seeking human being is solicited by innumerable beliefs, old and new. The past generations, out of which we spring, have been believing many undemonstrated and undemonstrable things, and we inherit their beliefs. . . . All men of science walk by faith and not by sight in exploring and experimenting. . . . The very es-

sence of heroism is that it takes adverse chances; so that full foreknowledge of the issue would subtract from the heroic quality."

Again, in *The Road to Unity among the Christian Churches* he interprets a serene life of faith and courage which, he believed, was invading and beginning to transform many traditional creeds. He said:

"The human race may now be sure that the wonders of Nature are greater and not less mysterious than the wonders heretofore called miracles. Every hospital, every telephone or wireless station, and every garden, pasture, or bird's nest in the spring demonstrates this fact, and the amazing progress of chemistry, physics, and biology only confirms it. God's wonders in the deep or in the air are just as wonderful as they ever were, although no longer supposed to be interventions of God for the benefit or the destruction of one or many human beings. . . .

"Religion now begins to dwell rather on the

infinite beauty, both moral and physical, which the universe manifests, on the dignity and prevailing loveliness of human nature, and on the wonderful adaptation of man's nature to the universe in which he dwells. No thinking person believes any longer in total human depravity. Everybody perceives that human society could not exist, and never could have existed unless the vast majority of mankind had been well disposed, affectionate, and trustworthy—especially modern civilized society which has lately acquired, through scientific discovery and invention, such tremendous means of destruction. . . .

"Mankind still trembles at the lightning, the storm, the volcano, the earthquake, the flood, and the drought; but no longer sees in them vengeful or punitive action of malignant and cruel deities. Thinking people say of the heavens and the earth, and all that in them is, just what Emerson said of the beautiful rhodora: 'The self-same power that brought me here

brought you.' This is the revolution in men's thought of God and man which has been quietly accepted by great masses of mankind during the past hundred years. It has substituted expectation of good at God's hands for dread of evil, has made incredible the older creeds and dogmas, and so has prepared the way for unification in religion."

Though Dr. Eliot's statements about religion are profoundly influenced by exact science, he recognizes the place of that large element of life that cannot be defined by exact science. He says, in "The Religion of the Future": "This does not mean that life will be stripped of mystery or wonder, or that the range of natural law has been finally determined. . . . The religion of the future will have its communions with the Great Spirit, with the spirits of the departed, and with living fellow men of like minds. Working together will be one of its fundamental ideas—of men with God, of men with prophets, leaders

and teachers, of men with one another, of men's intelligence with the forces of nature."

From his ardent faith in the immanence of God, from his confidence in the dignity and the powers of human personality, from the mastery of material forces which science had won for man, and from his observations of a growing coöperation among all intelligent men of good will, he predicted that unselfish motives would become dominant in human conduct, and increase religious unity. In "The Religion of the Future" he said: "In the religious life of the future the primary object will not be personal welfare, or the safety of the individual in this world or any other. That safety, that welfare or salvation, may be incidentally secured, but it will not be the prime object in view. The religious person will not think of his own welfare or security, but of service to others, and of contributions to the common good. The new religion will not teach that character is likely to be suddenly changed,

either in this world or in any other—although in any world a sudden opportunity for improvement may present itself, and the date of that opportunity may be a precious remembrance. . . . In describing the consolations for human woes and evils which such a religion can offer, its chief motives have been depicted. They are just those which Jesus said summed up all the commandments, love toward God and brotherliness to man. It will teach a universal good will, under the influence of which men will do their duty, and at the same time promote their own happiness. The devotees of a religion of service will always be asking what they can contribute to the common good; but their greatest service must always be to increase the stock of good will among men.

"The two sentiments which most inspire men to good deeds are love and hope. Religion should give freer and more rational play to these two sentiments than the world has heretofore witnessed; and the love and hope will

be thoroughly grounded in and on efficient, serviceable, visible, actual and concrete deeds and conduct. When a man works out a successful treatment for cerebro-spinal meningitis—a disease before which medicine was absolutely helpless a dozen years ago—by applying, to the discovery of a remedy, ideas and processes, invented or developed by other men studying other diseases, he does a great work of love, prevents for the future the breaking of innumerable ties of love, and establishes good grounds for hope of many like benefits for human generations to come. The men who do such things in the present world are ministers of the religion of the future. The future religion will prove, has proved, as effective as any of the older ones in inspiring men to love and serve their fellow beings—and that is the true object and end of all philosophies and all religions; for that is the way to make men better and happier, alike the servants and the served."

To the great educator not only did these

views seem to be the real teaching of the Gospel of Jesus, but it seemed to him that, even though slowly, religious men would come to this estimate of the Christian faith and life. In delivering his famous lecture on "The Religion of the Future" he was not merely declaring a personal desire, but rather describing what he believed was the trend of the times. He stood not primarily as an advocate but rather as a foreteller. He exercised the prophetic function more as one making a prediction than as one persuading reluctant hearers.

He may have been eager for the coming of his hopeful changes, but that did not make him oblivious of the obstacles in the way of religious progress. Though he was making a prophecy, he knew that many years must pass before men could expect to see the fulfillment of his prophecy. Yet he did believe that not only his predictions would come true, but that the road to Christian unity was mapped out in his predictions. He said:

"Will such a religion as this make progress in the twentieth-century world? . . . The great mass of people remain attached to the traditional churches, and are likely to remain so, partly because of their tender associations with churches in the grave crises of life, and partly because their actual mental condition still permits them to accept the beliefs they have inherited or been taught while young. The new religion will therefore make but slow progress, so far as outward organization goes. It will, however, progressively modify the creeds and religious practices of all the existing churches, and change their symbolism and and their teachings concerning the conduct of life.

"Since its chief doctrine is the doctrine of a sublime unity of substance, force and spirit, and its chief precept is, 'Be serviceable,' it will exert a strong uniting influence among men. Christian unity has always been longed for by devout believers but has been sought in im-

possible ways. . . . Since it is certain that men are steadily gaining more and more freedom in thought, speech and action, civilized society might as well assume that it will be quite impossible to unite all religiously-minded people through any dogma, creed, ceremony, observance, or ritual. All these are divisive, not uniting, wherever a reasonable freedom exists.

"The new religion proposes as a basis of unity, first its doctrine of an immanent and loving God, and secondly its precept, 'Be serviceable to your fellow men.' Already there are many signs in the free countries of the world that different denominations can unite in good work to promote human welfare. . . . It is not unreasonable to imagine that the new religion will prove a unifying influence, and a strong reinforcement of democracy. . . . This twentieth-century religion is not only to be in harmony with the great secular movements of modern society . . . but also in es-

sential agreement with the direct personal teachings of Jesus, as they are reported in the Gospels. The revelation he gave to mankind thus becomes more wonderful than ever."

Chapter Nine

THE GREAT TRANSITION

ANY man whose intellectual progress has kept pace with modern thinking, whose general knowledge moves forward with the advance of science, and whose religious life is abreast of the spiritual progress of the times, finds that a distinct effort is needed if he endeavors to understand the background of the controversy in religion in New England in the early years of the past century. The transition from Calvinism, as it was developed around the year 1800, to the religion of progressive thinkers today, is an amazing progress for a century and a quarter.

The point of view of the Calvinism of that earlier time, in New England, may be illustrated by the pleasant pastime of many people

in recent years—solving picture puzzles. In seeking the solution of a picture puzzle there are three principles to be followed. The first is that, to the chaotic mass of irregular pieces, nothing is to be *added;* the second, that nothing is to be *taken away;* the third is that an *intelligible* picture results from the correct arrangement of the pieces.

The Calvinists of that time applied these principles to the interpretation of the Bible. Any intelligent reader of the Bible knew that it did not give a connected and orderly description of God, but did contain many passages related to the thought of God. In the many books which make up the Bible could be found some gleams of the great truth which all men sought. Might not men arrange many passages of Scripture and thus discover what God is like? Would they not have a complete picture of God? But in this process no passage of Scripture could be left out, and nothing could be added, said these searchers. The Bible, the

whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible should be the material which should yield the perfect picture of God.

While gaining thus the knowledge of the likeness of God, they believed they would learn the whole duty of man, the truth about this world and the next, and the will of God concerning the church, the state and all things that enter into human life. Such a searching of Scripture was an august undertaking, and the men who undertook it deserve the admiration of all sincere thinkers. It must not be regarded as fantastic and it certainly was not superficial.

Such men as William Ellery Channing, who were the leaders of the liberal party in New England, revolted against the picture which Calvinism drew of God, and also its picture of man. Total depravity and kindred doctrines seemed to them to disfigure God and to debase humanity. They declared that, whatever the letter of Scripture might seem to teach, Man was not the helpless creature which the doc-

trine of predestination assumed him to be; and they also declared that God was not the arbitrary Sovereign who would predetermine that many of His children should be consigned to eternal torment, with no chance of salvation. And, without denying God's foreknowledge, they asserted that, in some way, Man's will was still free, and moral responsibility was his.

Probably the most dynamic idea, which the leaders of the revolt asserted, was the essential worth of human personality. They so exalted this as to shift, for themselves, the very seat of authority in religion. Catholicism asserted, as it still does, that the supreme authority resides in the Church, which has the right to interpret Scripture and to judge all matters of faith and practice. Calvinism was in revolt against Catholicism, but asserted the authority of the Bible as given, by the Supreme Sovereign, for the instruction of men. The leaders of the new liberalism asserted that the living God made known His will to living men. They declared

that men had the right to interpret Scripture, to judge the moral and spiritual worth of its parts, and to seek direct communication from God through their own reason, experience and insight.

They were accused, of course, of exalting Man unduly, and of claiming for him powers belonging only to Deity. But William Ellery Channing said: "I am accustomed to speak of the greatness of human nature; but it is great only through its parentage; great, because descended from God, because connected with a goodness and power from which it is to be enriched forever. Without God our existence has no support, our life no aim, our improvements no permanence, our best labors no sure and enduring results. . . . and our noblest aspirations and desires no pledge of being realized. . . . Take away God, and life becomes mean, and man poorer than the brute. . . .

"Among the virtues, we give the first place to the love of God. We believe that this prin-

ciple is the true end and happiness of our being, that we were made for union with our Creator, that his infinite perfection is the only sufficient object and true resting-place for the insatiable desires and unlimited capacities of the human mind, and that without him our noblest sentiments—admiration, veneration, hope, and love —would wither and decay. We believe, too, that the love of God is not only essential to happiness, but to the strength and perfection of all the virtues; that conscience, without the sanction of God's authority and retributive justice, would be a weak director; that benevolence, unless nourished by communion with His goodness, and encouraged by His smile, could not thrive amidst the selfishness and thanklessness of the world; and that self-government, without a sense of the Divine inspection, would hardly extend beyond an outward and partial purity. God, as He is essentially goodness, holiness, justice and virtue, so He is the life, motive and sustainer of virtue in the human soul. . . .

"We conceive that the true love of God is a moral sentiment, founded on a clear perception, and consisting, in a high esteem and veneration, of his moral perfections. Thus it perfectly coincides, and is in fact the same thing, with the love of virtue, rectitude and goodness."

To many minds the teaching of Channing seemed to be a door of emancipation, for they had lived under the shadow of the dread of an arbitrary Power more interested in the enforcement of His decrees than in the welfare of His children; and therefore determining, before they were born, their life and eternal destiny. Calvinism made the sharpest possible contrast between the elect and nonelect; and consequently it made the same sharp contrast between the joys of heaven and the tortures of hell. To multitudes of souls, reared in Calvinism, the thought of God meant primarily their hope of rewards in heaven or their dread of punishments in hell.

The leaders of the revolt againſt Calvinism put a ſtrong emphasis on the fatherly heart of God, on the worth of human souls in His sight, on human brotherhood, and on the humane motives in life. They urged men to seek the welfare of their fellows rather than a merely individualiſtic salvation. Less and less did the liberal party urge the desire for heavenly reward and the dread of ţorment in hell as the motives of human conduct in this present life.

The worth of human personality was, therefore, not juſt one doctrine among many in the liberal faith of a century ago; rather was it the dominant article of faith, to which all others must be related. It shaped a new theology, inspired reforms, revolutionized education and produced a great era in literature, especially poetry. New England life appeared suddenly to blossom, as if, after a dreary winter, spring had come with radiant joy and new life.

The ſtability of that faith in the worth of

human personality was to be severely tested in the course of the great transition to the thinking of the present day. Even if Calvinism held the most rigid doctrine of the Sovereign Will, the men of that time believed in a plastic world in which God could express His purposes and, when He chose, could work miracles. The scientific theory of the Reign of Law, which was developed in the course of the nineteenth century, gave to thinking men such a world as human thought had never before imagined. For uncounted thousands of people it seemed as if their world had suddenly frozen to the utmost rigidity; and that God could not, or would not, change by an iota the working of blind physical force.

Probably in the whole history of civilized human thinking there has never been a period when religious thought has had a greater task than in the past few decades, when it has had to adjust itself to this changed world which modern science has given to men. Astronomy is

even now engaged in measuring a universe, which, in its vaſt dimensions, defies human imagination. Geology and biology lead us through millions of years of the exiſtence of the earth, and the presence of life upon it. Other exact ſciences measure with the utmoſt preciſion the working of unchanging law in the world about us.

Three phraſes sum up a great deal of this change which ſcience has made, the firſt, the dimensions of the universe; the ſecond, the length of life on the earth; the third, the quality of the world in which we live. Of what ſignificance is man in the universe of the aſtronomers? What ſpiritual meaning remains for us when the evolutioniſts have told their ſtory? What place is there, in a world of exact law, for the freedom of the will, the power of prayer, the hope of immortality or the belief in God?

During the time when ſcience was doing this epoch-making work of revealing a new universe to thinking men, Charles W. Eliot

was doing his great creative work in education. Trained as a chemist, promoting the teaching of all the sciences, and building a great university, his thinking led him through the very center of this change. His work in Harvard University involved the care of the School of Theology, the concern for religious instruction, and the carrying on of services of worship in the College Chapel. He had to face, with the utmost directness, the problem of religion in the modern world.

He had no disposition to regard it as in any way secondary to any other phase of the thought of educated men, or of the process of education. Those who observed his outer life saw him attending services of worship with regularity. In his own church, of which he was a faithful member, they saw him receive communion as had been his habit from his youth. What was the faith that sustained him through those years and to the end of his long life?

The controversy over his momentous ad-

dress on "The Religion of the Future" had partly subsided when, about four years later, he went to Buffalo (in October, 1913) and delivered an address on "Twentieth-century Christianity." Again there was misquotation in the press, again editorials and pulpit utterances by men who evidently did not know what the great educator really had said. A famous weekly review characterized it as "More 'New Religion' from Dr. Eliot." That impression was widespread. Indeed, many people who did read the address, which was soon published, interpreted it as an amplification of his predictions expressed in "The Religion of the Future." But in reality it sets forth, with clarity and vigor, his views on personality: the worth of human personality in the modern world, and the possibility of faith in Divine personality. To anyone who knows the emphasis put upon personality, by the religious leaders from whom Charles W. Eliot derived his youthful faith, this address was very significant. He was in

his eightieth year, ripe in wisdom, mellow in spirit, serene in faith.

In the first sentence of the address he refers to the doctrine of evolution and the work of exact science, and the profound changes in the religious conceptions of thinking men. Then he goes directly to the thought of God which is consistent with scientific advance and shows that it is still Christian and still retains personality. He said: "No ideas about God have changed so much, however, as the ideas about him as creator. The doctrine of evolution represents creation, whether of the heavenly bodies or of plants and animals, not as a piece of work done once for all by an infinite artificer in a short time, and then left to run automatically on a predetermined scheme called natural law, but as growing or gradually developing, and having an immense historic past, a fluent present, and an unmeasured future. . . . The Creator is for modern men a sleepless, active, energy and will, which yesterday, today and

forever actuates all things, as the human spirit actuates its own body, so small and yet so inconceivably complex. . . .

"He now appears as incessant workman, as universal servant, as tireless, omniscient energizer. Is this thought of God unchristian? Not if we accept literally two sublime sentences in the New Testament, one uttered by Jesus and the other by Paul: 'God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth' and 'In him we live and move and have our being.' . . .

"These new forces, which have so deeply affected the religious conceptions of modern men, may seem to tend to take individuality and personality out of our conceptions of God. They are vast imaginings of omnipresent energy, far removed from the anthropomorphic conception of God as magistrate, enthroned potentate and God of Battles. It is to be observed, however, that during the period which has witnessed all this progress in science, democracy

and the sense of brotherhood, the regard of mankind for individual persons and mankind's sense of obligation to persons of rare merit have not diminished, but increased.

"We of today recognize our obligations to leading spirits more clearly and comprehensively than our ancestors did. We have quite as strong an admiration as they felt for the prophets, seers, and saints of the past, and quite as strong a gratitude towards our own heroes as they had towards theirs; and we have the advantage of being grateful to many more persons, because universal education enables the passing generation to include great writers of any generation among their benefactors and guides. Human love goes out now as ever to esteemed persons in the family, the state, and the race. The sense of personality, the belief in personality, is an inherent part of our nature, which always has been and always will be intense and irresistible. Therefore, as long as man is man, God will be thought of as a person, and

will have a name significant beyond all other names. Taking into consideration all the new demonstrations of science with regard to the attributes of God, no name so well describes him as *Our Father* among all those peoples who conceive of a father as the loving head of a family."

Thus did his view of God bring the Creator into intimate relationships with humanity. He believed ardently in the immanence of God, His revelation of Himself in all the beauty of the world, and His expression of His will in the laws of the outer world of nature and the inner life of man. But with this faith in the immanence of God he held strongly to the faith in God's personality; and he pictured Him as a being who appropriately bears the name which Jesus gave to deity, that of "Father."

Philosophers and theologians have long recognized the dilemma involved in faith in the immanence of God. Is God's nature expressed in the beauty of the world, the truth of depend-

able natural law, and the beneficence of the provision for man's well-being? Are the beauty, truth and goodness of Deity thus revealed by His direct presence in all things? Then how shall we interpret the storm, the deadly thunderbolt and the devastating fire? If He be not in these deadly things, how is He present in the glory of the sunset and the beneficence of the dew? Calvinism said that God was in even the deadly events of nature, and inferred that His motives included anger, jealousy and rage. This problem has been discussed by philosophers and theologians, for it is the ever-baffling problem of evil; but no system of philosophy or of theology has ever given an answer fully satisfactory to human logic.

Neither in this address in Buffalo, nor in any other, does Charles W. Eliot think it necessary to solve this mystery, but he inspires the way to a solution as an adventure of a courageous faith. In *The Happy Life* he had already declared that we live in the presence of unsolved mys-

teries. He said: "A fresh difficulty in the way of natural happiness is the highly speculative opinion lately put forward by men of science, and promptly popularized, to the effect that external nature offsets every good with an evil, and that the visible universe is unmoral, or indifferent as regards right and wrong, revealing no high purpose or intelligent trend. This is indeed a melancholy notion; but that it should find acceptance at this day, and really make people miserable, only illustrates the curious liability of the human intelligence to sudden collapse. The great solid conviction, which science within the past three centuries has enabled thinking men and women to settle down on, is that all discovered and systematized knowledge is as nothing compared with the undiscovered; and that a boundless universe of unimagined facts and forces interpenetrates and encompasses what seems the universe to us. In spite of this impregnable conviction, people distress themselves because, forsooth, they cannot dis-

cern the moral purpose, or complete spiritual intent, of this dimly-seen, fractional universe which is all we know. Why should they discern it? . . . We may be sure that one principle will hold throughout the whole pursuit of considerate happiness—the principle that the best way to secure future happiness is to be as happy as is rightfully possible today. To secure any desirable capacity for the future, near or remote, cultivate it today. 'What is the use of immortality for a person who cannot use well half an hour?' asks Emerson."

In an address to a group of young people, on "Religion," Dr. Eliot had said: "Religion is one of the prime motives of conduct and one of the great moving powers of the world. . . . Religion is a mystery, a real mystery. But that is no reason that we should not think about it with perfect candor and clearness. Indeed, the things that are most worth inquiring into in this world are all uncertainties, problems and mysteries. We are absolutely immersed in mys-

tery, and the things we call practical or real in the plainest sense of the words are almost all mysteries. Take, for instance, the power that lights up this meeting house at this moment. Not a man ever breathed who had the faintest idea of the nature of electricity; it is an absolute mystery. . . . We have actually applied it to our service in innumerable ways, but its essential nature remains as perfect a mystery as ever.

"We have not the least conception of how a single blade of wheat springs from the ground, elaborates its essential parts, and grows; and in all probability we never shall have. We have not the least idea how the colors on the robin's breast have been transmitted from generation to generation for thousands of years without any perceptible change in the colors. . . . Forever are the colors on the breast of the bird perpetuated; and we cannot conceive how it is done. I say we are absolutely immersed in mystery in our daily lives, amid all our most practical affairs, amid all the things we call

real. Yet we utilize these mysteries by clear, bold thinking. Therefore, let us not excuse ourselves for lack of clear thought about religion on the ground that it is mysterious. . . .

"The scientific frame of mind accounts for the extraordinary progress of mankind during the last hundred years in the daily use of powers mysterious. And that is precisely the way we should approach and deal with the religious mystery. . . . God has surrounded us with mysteries; but it is man that has made mystifications. There are real mysteries in the conduct of the universe at which we must look bravely and resignedly, with humble minds. Such are useless pain, the sufferings of the innocent, the shortness of human life, the broken career, and premature death. These are real mysteries in the presence of which we must often be dumb."

This courageousness was characteristic of his thought: he kept his faith, and made immediate use of it, and refused to let it be disturbed

by philosophical speculations to which there was no end. He kept his ethical idealism, his spiritual faith, and his virile courage; and these he used in his practical life. Again and again he speaks of the mysteries of the world, unsolved by philosophy and unanswered by scientific knowledge. But he ignored the philosophical dilemmas growing out of these things, and was willing to say that in the presence of them "we must often be dumb"; but he was neither dumb nor inactive in the presence of wrongs that ought to be righted for human welfare.

In his address made in Buffalo in 1913 he revealed anew his faith in human personality, especially as it is expressed in the brotherhood of man. He said: "A doctrine which is fast modifying the religious conceptions of mankind is not new, but newly applied: the doctrine of human brotherhood. Jesus taught it explicitly and implicitly, and the Christian Church has talked a good deal about it, but never put it into effective practice until democ-

racy began to come to its own. It is expressed with wonderful perfection in the following sentence which Lowell quotes from Robinson and Brewster: 'We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation of which we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole.' But this solemn teaching of Robinson and Brewster did not come to perfect fruition in the Plymouth colony, and has never yet been realized in any human society. The past fifty years, however, have witnessed more progress toward the realization of the brotherhood of man than all the preceding centuries of the Christian era."

Thus he was confident that the very decades, when it seemed to many thinkers that physical science was taking away human values, covered a period in which greater things were being done through a sense of human worth and

the significance of human personality, than ever before.

Another phase of his faith in personality appears in this same address as he speaks of the personality of Jesus. He says: "None of the advances of science and government have any adverse effect on the conception of Jesus as teacher and exemplar. The sciences have their own prophets, martyrs and heroes, for whom all worthy scientific men feel profound reverence. Literature and art have their great masters, whose works survive for centuries, and long continue profoundly to influence select human spirits. Jesus, the amazing product of the Hebrew race and of the Hebraic history and tradition, is the supreme teacher of religion, whose teachings, imperfectly transmitted by the groups of simple people to whom he spoke in the language and the atmosphere of an obscure province, and soon corrupted in the great Greek and Roman world, have, nevertheless, proved to be the undying root of all the

best in human history since he lived. For this personality the love and reverence of mankind are always ascending and always glowing with greater warmth and brilliancy, as the clouds which gathered out of paganism round his doctrines are gradually dispelled.

"The Church of the future will reverence more and more the personality of Jesus, and will dwell on the extraordinary qualities of his teaching, as proved by their historical effects during nineteen centuries. He laid down ethical principles of the purest worth which are good for all time, but which were so crushed and overborne by the existing currents of thought and the social institutions of his day that they have been struggling for recognition ever since they were uttered, and still lack their intended fruition. To strive patiently towards their just fruition is the mission of the Church of the future."

Thus he asserted personality in God and found the key to man's understanding of God

in the word "Father." He asserted, with great emphasis, personality in Jesus and in humanity. The personality of God the Father and the personality of Jesus were to be interpreted, he believed, by an exalted interpretation of the personality of Man. In the old revolt against Calvinism, the apparently incompatible doctrines of God's sovereignty and man's free will formed one of the principal battlefields. The liberal party did not wait to solve the insoluble philosophical problem, but asserted the freedom of the will, man's moral responsibility, the safe guidance of reason, and man's right of private judgment in all religious matters.

This same inductive method Dr. Eliot followed in meeting modern philosophical dilemmas. It was quite as difficult in his generation to believe in the freedom of the will in a world of universal physical law as it was in the Calvinistic world with its foreordination. But his solution was to assert the freedom of the individual and all that it implies, quite as valiantly

as did his predecessors a century earlier. The modern mechanistic theory of the universe, which declares that human ideals of freedom and aspiration are delusions, was met by Professor William James with a terse phrase in which he said of human life, "It *feels* like a real fight." Like Professor James, Dr. Eliot took life as a real fight, demanding the assertion of human personality at its full spiritual value.

Throughout his educational work there is a golden thread of consistency. Only an exalted view of human personality was consistent with the principles of the right of choice on the part of students, which he asserted in his inaugural address as President of Harvard College. A half century of observation of students confirmed his faith. In the Harvard Union, at the opening of the academic year in 1906, he addressed the freshman class, laying much emphasis on the spiritual implications of faith in human freedom. He said: "There has come upon us, right

here in these grounds and among Harvard's constituents, and widespread over the country as well, a distrust of freedom for students, of freedom for citizens, of freedom for backward races of men. That is one of the striking phenomena of our day, a distrust of freedom.

"Now there is no moment in life when there comes a greater sudden access of freedom than this moment in which you find yourselves. . . . Are you afraid of it? . . . What is freedom for? . . . When you came hither, you found yourselves in possession of a new freedom. . . . Is it a good thing for you, or a bad thing? Clearly, you can go astray, for the road is not fenced. You can make mistakes; you can fall into sin. . . .

"It is pretty clear that, in other spheres, freedom is dangerous. . . . Free institutions do not necessarily produce the best government. . . . What is freedom for? Why has God made man free, as he has not made the plants and the animals? . . . Men are infinitely

freer; God made them so. . . . Is freedom dangerous? Yes! but it is necessary to the growth of human character, and that is what we are all in the world for, and that is what you and your like are in college for. That is what the world was made for, for the occupation of men who, in freedom, through trial, win character. It is choice which makes the dignity of human nature. . . . It is the will that makes the thinker and the inventor. It is through the internal motive power of the will that men imagine, invent, thrust their thoughts out into the obscure beyond, into the future. The will is the prime motive power, and you can train your wills only in freedom. That is what freedom is for, in school and college, in society, industries and governments. Fine human character is the object in view, and freedom is the indispensable condition of its development. . . . Choose that intellectual pursuit which will develop within you the power

to do enthusiastic work, an internal motive power, not an external compulsion."

"The dignity of human nature!" That was his guiding star, in education, in social reforms, and in spiritual faith. He said of his religion: "Ours is no cool and negative religion. On the contrary, it is a steady fire, a glowing hope, an invigorating inspiration." He was happy to live in a universe of vast mysteries, content to leave remote problems unsolved so long as life gave him heroic work, right at hand. After all, his personal religion was very simple. His faith in God gave him courage and strength; and his faith in man made his life-work radiant. Of the truly "civilized" man he says: "He cannot but believe that the vast material frame of things is informed and directed by an infinite Intelligence and Will, just as his little animal body is informed by his own conscious mind and will."

Sometimes quite incidentally he gives a brief expression of a very simple, beautiful, personal

faith. It was one of the sources of deep joy in his life to spend many summers on the island of Mount Desert. One of his most charming pieces of literature is an appreciative sketch of a neighbor, a farmer-fisherman, named John Gilley, whose sterling character and simple life he admired. He concludes his sketch with these lines: "This is the life of one of the forgotten millions. It contains no material for distinction, fame, or long remembrance; but it does contain the material and present the scene for a normal human development through mingled joy and sorrow, labor and rest, adversity and success, and through the tender loves of childhood, maturity and age. We cannot but believe that it is just for countless quiet, simple lives like this that God made and upholds this earth."

In writing of his own son Charles, whose untimely death cut short his brilliant career as landscape architect, the father surely reveals his own faith as he speaks of that of this beloved

son. He says: "Charles was by temperament reflective, sympathetic, and affectionate, and he had an inquiring mind which sought causes and uniform sequences; he was, therefore, naturally religious, but not in any emotional, conventional, or ecclesiastical sense. The institutions of religion, as a whole, he thought indispensable to society; but many of the forms and observances, which he saw were grateful to others, he himself merely endured with patience, for they were to him unprofitable. . . . His creed was short and simple: he believed that a loving God rules the universe, that the path to loving and serving Him lies through loving and serving men, and that the way to worship Him is to reverence the earthly beauty, truth and goodness He has brought forth. The character which shines through these pages is of a kind seldom described in poetry or fiction —perhaps because it is transparent, natural and harmonious. It was not passionate—calm, rather, and reserved; yet it had all the fire

needed to warm mind and heart to great work and the sweetest affections."

When, at the age of seventy-five years, Dr. Eliot resigned from the presidency of Harvard University, many men said, "His work is done." But he himself said that he wanted time and strength to do some things for which he had never had leisure. And, as if in sympathy with that desire, Life granted to the great educator more than seventeen additional years. He devoted much time to writing, speaking and editorial work. He traveled around the world, and was a messenger of good will to many nations. His influence spread enormously and his opinion on public questions was sought by thousands of people. He was accorded the position of "Chief citizen of the American Republic."

His chief interest, however, during those ripe and mellowing years, was religion. Its joy and incentive were uppermost in his mind and heart. He applied it to social service, international relations and personal faith. His was

"The Religion of the Spirit," the faith that the living God still speaks His word of truth to the minds and hearts of living men. He had a great and serene faith in the universe: in its sanity, its essential righteousness, its spirit of goodness and its eternal progressive movement. He had an abiding faith in the human qualities derived from the universe, by whatever way Life makes her gifts to man. He believed in the human attribute of reason, in the worth of moral discipline, in the essential rectitude of human nature, and in the capacity of the race for unlimited progress.

The climax of his life was in those last years, when he had leisure to express, by voice and pen, this religious faith. In those years he was guided in green pastures and beside still waters; and he faced the present and the future with a happy confidence in the Eternal Goodness.

THE END

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